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Duquesne University:

WILLIAM THE FIRST

Winterhalter, King William

PAUL WIEGLER

WILLIAM THE FIRST

HIS LIFE AND TIMES

TRANSLATED & EDITED BY

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THE PRINCE

THE PRUSSIAN COURT

ON THE 17TH OF AUGUST, 1786, Frederick dies at Sanssouci. After the Silesian wars his life had settled down into one of terrible loneliness; not only had the position between him and the Hohenzollern family become intolerable, but the Prussian State, which owed its rise solely to his genius, was suffering under his harsh rule. The financial administration of the impoverished country was bad; Berlin was in serious want of money, and hardly could a hundred *louis d'or* be raised, even on the best security. The King commands the Privy Council to hold an inquiry into the causes of the depreciation. Its members draw up a memorandum unanimously putting the blame on the new Bank and the commercial policy pursued. Privy Councillor Ursinus is arrested, sentries are posted on the Jägerbrücke, the Governor is seen riding about, and the town is patrolled. The King threatens the whole Council with the fate of one of its members. The "Old Periwigs" protest against Prussia's domestic affairs being entrusted to the French *Fermier Général*, who has been summoned to Berlin. Caudry, Director of the State Tobacco monopoly, fights a duel with his colleague, de Ladre, in the Tiergarten, and is found stabbed to the heart. Ferdinand von Wreech, a lieutenant in the Gendarmerie, commits suicide during a review. The infuriated King blames General von Schwerin for the want of discipline amongst his officers, which he attributes to the influence of foreign ambassadors, who put such foolish ideas into their heads that they are no longer happy in their calling; Young Wreech had been ruined by the stoical Englishman O'Reilly. The Governor, von Ramin, is so harsh that he is universally detested. The soldiers of the Berlin garrison shoot down their officers and non-commissioned officers because they have to drill all through the winter.

Prince Henry, the King's painted, depraved brother, drives through the town at night in a sleigh with Ludwig von Wreech, who is dressed as a woman, and Count Ernest von Lehndorff, one of the King's gentlemen, and rouses the two Princesses of Brunswick from their slumbers; Prince Frederick, in his short red jacket, looks as absurd as a clown. After an open scandal at

Rheinsberg, where Prince Henry has his Court, Herr von Kalkreuth is transferred to Count Platen's East Prussian Dragoons. Soon after this, Prince Henry conceives a violent passion for his new aide-de-camp, von Kaphengst. Frederick deals with this with the greatest severity. Princess Henry, who was under Kalkreuth's influence, is inconsolable over his departure; after that she resides with her husband in his Berlin palace, he occupying the right and she the left wing—the same estrangement as in the case of the King's marriage. When a messenger with four postilions arrived, after the conclusion of peace with Russia, Elizabeth Christine tried to make out that he was sent to her by her husband, with his "respectful greetings," but the messenger entered the room in silence, having no message for her, nothing but letters for Herr Blumenthal and the commandants. She is banished to the Castle at Schönhausen, and when the King now and again sends her a porcelain dinner-service, it is as a special favour.

Frederick invites five ladies of the nobility to Potsdam, and says that there is no room for the husbands. On the third day the ladies are fetched to supper and a ball, but are immediately ordered to leave, and are obliged to pay for their night's lodging. The King, moreover, describes them as follows: "Countess Hordt's behaviour is very equivocal, Frau von Grappendorf is like a faded coquette, Countess von Wartensleben looks like nothing on earth, Countess Schwerin is thoroughly provincial, and Frau von Marwitz looks like a man." At Sanssouci he wears his hat in bed without a nightcap, and pulls on his boots the first thing in the morning. On New Year's Day it is whispered that he is ill. "This is the day for lies," he says, with grim misanthropy.

His next brother, Prince Augustus, the heir presumptive, died at the age of thirty-six at Oranienburg, in great disgrace. He was to have led the retreat from Bohemia when the army was defeated at Kölin, but was accused by the King of having no military skill, and dismissed; he is avenged in his grave by the publication in 1769 of his history of the 1757 campaign. Prince Ferdinand, the youngest brother, is head of the association hostile to the King, known as the *Fernanderie*. Of Augustus's sons, Prince Henry, born in 1747, was the King's favourite nephew. The death

of this youth from small-pox, at the age of twenty, in 1767, is a great blow to him. He receives the news when encamped at Stargard. Frederick, prepared for it by General von Krockow, is like a man in a dream for the space of a quarter of an hour; then he demands the truth, which crushes him. He says to Prince Eugène of Würtemberg, "Do what you will", and leaves for Potsdam.

Augustus's elder son Frederick William, Prince of Prussia, born in 1744, is heir to the throne. The King has an antipathy to this idle fellow, who persists in adhering to the extravagant French fashion in dress, in spite of His Majesty's frequently expressed disapproval. Arrayed in bright red plush, with an embroidered blue satin waistcoat, he joins the cavaliers coming from the *Café coiffé* in the boats bound for Monbijou. He is stout, uncouth, and dull-witted. Towards 1775 James Harris wrote that he was "so strictly supervised and kept in leading-strings by his uncle that it was difficult to say whether his reserve and silence were natural or assumed. It was certain, however, that when he forgot his rank and was in the bad company which seems to have amused him, as he always sought it, he behaved just as he did at Court and in good society. The only way in which he showed that he enjoyed it was by encouraging his comrades to be as noisy as possible and to ignore the respect due to their future king." According to Mirabeau's private history of the Berlin Court, he only disliked clever people.

He was little more than twenty when he married a niece of the King's, Elizabeth of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. She betrayed him; and as he threatened to send a memorandum to every Court in Europe, he succeeded, after four years, in obtaining a divorce, against Frederick's wish. The Princess was punished by imprisonment for life at Cüstrin; she died at Stettin in 1840, in her ninety-fifth year. In 1769 Frederick William marries Frederica Louise of Hesse-Darmstadt. He had already made Wilhelmina Encke's acquaintance during his first marriage; her father was a bugler in the army, afterwards a French-horn player in the State orchestra, and her sister a ballet-dancer at the opera. The heir to the throne had the child, as she then was, educated by a Frenchwoman, taught her himself, sent her to Paris, and bought

Count Schmettau's country house at Charlottenburg for her. The King put up with this contemptuously, cautioning his departments to ignore "a certain exalted personage's" recommendations with regard to appointments. Fräulein Encke was obliged to go to Hamburg for a few months. When she returned, and crossed Frederick's path in the Castle grounds, she was condemned to a mock marriage with the valet Rietz, a son of one of the King's gardeners.

The Prince of Prussia had a daughter by Elizabeth—Frederica, later on Duchess of York. He had four sons before the King's death by Frederica Louise: Frederick William, born in 1770, Louis, Henry, and William, and two daughters: Wilhelmina, afterwards Hereditary Princess of the Netherlands, and Augusta, afterwards Hereditary Princess of Hesse-Cassel. Wilhelmina Rietz also gave birth to a son in 1770, the fair-haired Alexander, and eight years later had a little girl, Marianne. In 1783 the Prince falls in love with Fräulein Julie von Voss, niece of Elizabeth Christine's Mistress of the Robes. She demurs. At the last great review in Silesia, in 1785, the King said to Count Hoym, Minister of that province: "Farewell! You will never see me again! I will tell you what will happen after my death. There will be a merry life at the Court. My nephew will squander the money and let the army go down. The women will rule, and the State will be ruined." Weary and shrunken, he closes his cold, dim eyes.

The new King is what he was as Crown Prince. "People have already passed the stage of being horrified, which precedes contempt", writes Mirabeau. "My fat nephew", old Prince Henry growls, "is a fool, with no principles or regard for decency, who allows himself to be led by the nose by women, favourites, and charlatans in turn. He has a horror of work, and will merely add to the large number of Royal idlers." The charlatan is Hans Rudolf von Bischoffswerder of Saxony, the Rosicrucian, described as follows by Colonel von Massenbach in a warrant for his arrest: "He is both cunning and cautious. First a Prussian officer, then chamberlain to the Duke of Courland, and now King of Prussia. Frederick II used to call him a green-frog, on account of the green uniform he wore. The green-frog has usurped Frederick's throne. Cunning and secretiveness go hand in hand; hence the

sepulchral tone in Bischoffswerder's voice. It is not the pure metallic ring that distinguishes the voice of an honest man; there is something cryptic about it, a backstairs element. Before Bischoffswerder speaks, his eyes wander all round the room, anxiously searching for a possible eavesdropper hidden behind the walls. Like his master, he belongs to the class who want to enjoy life. He is fat, so Cæsar would not have feared him."

He has an accomplice in John Christopher von Wollmer, a Pietist who had been a Minister and head of the Ecclesiastical Department since 1788. Frau von Bischoffswerder has a lucrative business, the disposal of State domains in southern Prussia, formerly part of Poland. Rietz bestows patents of nobility. Twenty-three new titles are conferred when an investiture is held in 1786, from Arnim-Boitzenburg to Waldersee. In 1791 Bischoffswerder instigates the meeting at Pillnitz, where Frederick William and the Emperor Leopold agree upon the restoration of Louis XVI, upon war against the freedom of the French people. The bombardment of Valmy is the *débâcle* of this disastrous policy. In April 1785 Hardenberg concludes the separate peace of Bâsle with the France of the Revolution.

In the meantime all the prophecies about the King of Prussia are verified. There is nothing before him but confusion. Only four months after his accession to the throne he had contracted a morganatic marriage with Fräulein von Voss; the Consistorial Court declared this legal, the Queen consented to it. The pale, gentle vestal is created Countess Ingenheim in 1787. In this year, Encke's son, Alexander Count von der Mark, dies; the marble monument by Schadow, in the Dorotheen Church in Berlin, was put up by the sorrowing King, in fond memory of him. In 1789 Countess Ingenheim gives birth to a son; three months later she is carried off by a wasting fever, and it is rumoured that she has been poisoned by a glass of lemonade given either by Encke or Rietz. The next favourite is a young maid-of-honour to the Queen, Countess Sophie Juliana Frederica Dönhoff. She too, a very ill-tempered, ambitious young woman, succeeds in becoming the morganatic wife of Frederick William, to whom she is married in the chapel of the Castle at Charlottenburg, and by the chaplain to the King, Zöllner. Besides a daughter, Julia Countess of

Brandenburg, she has a son, Count William of Brandenburg, to whom the King stood godfather. This typical Hohenzollern (whose statue stands on the Leipziger Platz in Berlin) became commandant of Breslau, Prime Minister in 1848, and died in 1850.

Dönhoff's ambition brings her into disfavour with Frederick William, and in November 1793 she forces her way into the palace at Potsdam during a concert, in the hope of winning him back. Throwing herself at his feet, her hair flowing, she holds out his daughter to him: he shall take that which is his own. The King has a violent scene with her in a private room; he then mentions the word "provision". She is permanently banished from the Court with a pension of eight thousand talers, lives at Angermünde in the Uckermark, and dies on her property near Werneuchen in 1834. Her sister Anna is deprived of her rank by a decree of the Criminal Court in 1805 and interned at Spandau.

Encke remains in power to the end. In 1784 the King gives her the title of Countess Lichtenau, in virtue of an Act declaring her eligibility for the rank and annulling her marriage with Rietz. The Countess is even on friendly terms with the Queen. "Far from meeting the Queen with pride and arrogance", she assures us in her memoirs, "which would have been madness, I felt nothing but affection and regard for her. She, for her part, far from considering me unworthy of her favour, often came to see me at Charlottenburg and spent several hours with me, giving me on these occasions a thousand proofs of her condescension and good will. I first received the welcome news that this noble Queen was having a portrait of herself painted for me, from her chamberlain, Count Sayn-Wittgenstein. After some time, the portrait really was sent to the King at Pyrmont, to be kept there for me, which was done. Before that, I had already received a ring from the Queen's own hands, with the inscription: *Gage d'amité.* Later on she sent me bracelets as a remembrance, on which the words *Donné par amitié* were inscribed. Unfortunately the portrait is no longer in my possession; I have the ring and the bracelets, and I honour in them the memory of a noble, kind-hearted, and virtuous Queen."

Lichtenau took several long journeys—to Paris, Switzerland, and

Italy. She became a centre of Court society, into which she was introduced by the elder Countess Haake, and everyone was to be met at the palace in Unter den Linden which she had inherited from her little son. She had Celadons, who wooed her, was spoken of as a Roxolane and a Pompadour, and her nature described as bacchanalian, but even her enemies must admit that she was very discreet.

In 1797 she presides over Frederick William's establishment at Pyrmont, the Queen having gone to Freienwald to take the waters. He is suffering from dropsy. Then he feels better, and public rejoicings are organized in Berlin, with bell-ringing, trumpet-blasts from the towers, Punch and Judy shows, meals for the poor, a public banquet in the hall of the Exchange, a gala performance at the opera, fireworks, illuminations, and a ball. The Queen excuses herself on the ground of ill-health; Lichtenau represents her. Forster relates that, according to her friend and admirer Hirt, "the Countess appeared at the evening banquet in Grecian dress as Polyhymnia, with a golden diadem, and all her admirers, whose name was 'Legion', were present at this voluntarily organized civic dinner. The Countess, whose friends insisted that the richness, sweetness, and flexibility of her voice were unrivalled, had the courage to sing one or two of the songs composed and dedicated to her by *Kapellmeister* Himmel, and was enthusiastically applauded by the general public." But, as Frederick's complaint begins to trouble him again, he decides to provide for her. He has given her three domains in the Neumark, with an annual income of 4,800 talers, and besides that he paid her three hundred *louis d'or* per month. He now gives her a present of half a million talers in 5 per cent. Dutch securities, which she leaves behind, unopened.

In October 1797 the King's condition becomes much worse. His favourite companions are French *émigrés*. According to an eyewitness, "the room was illumined by the soft but melancholy light of wax candles set in alabaster vases. The King sat in the background in a low chair upholstered in green satin, his swollen feet covered with cushions; pale, thin, breathing painfully, his lifeless eyes turning vacantly this way and that. On the right Countess Lichtenau, stroking his swollen hand; on the left the

Marquise de Nadaillac, whose playful kindliness did him good. Countess Dönhoff's children, the Count and Countess of Brandenburg, whose education the King had entrusted to Countess Lichtenau, were playing at the fireside. From time to time the sick man fell into an uneasy sleep, from which he was awakened by bad dreams. Saint Ygnon did not stop reading on that account, and it was most affecting to hear Molière's farce, *Le Malade Imaginaire*, being read aloud to a King who was sick unto death." Quacks offer their services; the hypnotizer Beaunoir writes to Countess Lichtenau from Paris, giving prescriptions for the treatment of His Majesty. The King can get no sleep the night before his death on the 16th of November. He has a little coffee and a biscuit for breakfast, and then the death-struggle begins. The dying man suffers terribly. Grasping the arms of his chair convulsively, he tears the leather with his thumbs and curses his existence. Several times he says: "I have not deserved so hard a death. I have always meant well by my people; the campaigns ruined me." He dies at nine o'clock in the morning.

The Crown Prince, now King Frederick William III, was twenty-seven, and had been married in 1793 to Princess Louise of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, whose second son, William, was born on the 22nd of March, six months earlier. Queen Frederica Louise grew childish in her old age. Katherine von Rochow, *née* von Marwitz, describes her as speaking most indistinctly, talking a good deal to herself and spending the greater part of her time with *sous ordres* (subalterns). She had visions and saw ghosts (like all the Darmstadt Royalties of former days), even going so far as to imagine that she saw the Emperor Galba riding into her room on a white horse. Then she suddenly took to giving fêtes, generally in cold and windy weather, built horrible summer-houses wherever she could, and enjoyed small theatrical and musical performances above all things. She would even condescend to take a part herself, although she was so bent and infirm that she could only do so sitting. She lived until 1805.

THE PARENTS

FREDERICK WILLIAM III had a joyless youth. His father did not trouble about him; his mother, "always in financial difficulties", passed days without seeing him. His governors were the cantankerous General Benisch and von Backhoff, later on a General. Only six hundred talers were allowed for the Princes' table; they often went hungry. The eldest was clever. "He could not give offence" is the verdict of an impartial authority; "he was full of modesty and resignation, without the smallest touch of envy, rancour, malice, pride or arrogance." But the severity of his training made him shy and reserved, and in society he was diffident and bashful. He hated State ceremonies of any kind, and fled from them.

After the death of Frederick II, Major von Köckeritz was appointed aide-de-camp and Count Brühl gentleman usher to the Prince, the latter being a son of the Saxon Prime Minister. Köckeritz was very like the Prince; he came of a poor family, was educated at the military academy, had served in the Guards from the ranks, was steady, and slow in coming to a decision. Mirabeau, who knew what he was talking about, expressed the following opinion of young Frederick William: "The Crown Prince will soon be worth considering. Not only because his great-uncle had said in foretelling his future, '*Il me recommencera*', for in saying that he probably merely wished to show his contempt for the father, but because everything that one hears of him shows that he has a fine character, though he may not have agreeable manners. He is awkward, but everything about him is pronounced. He is uncivil, but he is true. He wants to know the reason for everything; he never accepts any but a sensible reason. He is firm and obstinate to the point of rudeness, but not incapable of feeling and depth. He already understands perfectly what to respect and what to despise. His contempt for his father amounts to hatred, and he makes no concealment of it. On the other hand, his veneration for Frederick the Great amounts to worship, and he speaks of it openly. This young man may perhaps have a great future."

The Crown Prince served in two campaigns with no success.

On the Rhine he commanded the siege of Landau, which he was obliged to raise after endless trifling engagements and a troublesome blockade; again in Poland, where the King sent him to Petrikau with three battalions of infantry and a couple of squadrons of cavalry. He complained of not being allowed to take part in any of the "brilliant affairs", and his father replied: "To be given command of a detachment is always a mark of confidence and a distinction, and is far more instructive than remaining with such a large body of troops."

A year earlier, in March 1793, he had met Princess Louise of Mecklenburg-Strelitz at Frankfurt-on-the-Main, the headquarters of the army of Frederick William II. Her father, Prince Charles, had been appointed Captain in a Hanoverian regiment and then promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General by George, King of England and Elector of Hanover, in order, as the English Court believed, to prevent Frederick II from carrying out his intention of exchanging his Rhenish-Westphalian dominions for Mecklenburg. He is married to a Princess Frederica of Darmstadt, and has four daughters, Charlotte, Theresa, Louise Augusta Wilhelmina, born at Hanover in 1776, in the old palace in the Leinstrasse, and Frederica; later on he had a son, George. His wife was not thirty years old when she died in 1782; he then married her sister, who only survived the birth of a son, Charles, a fortnight. The widower went to live with his daughter Charlotte, who had been Duchess of Sachsen-Hildenburg since 1785. Theresa, Louise, and Frederica grew up in Darmstadt, under the care of their grandmother. Louise was only a moderate pupil; on one of her copybooks, in which she had scrawled caricatures of the fashions and amusing remarks, she wrote herself: "April 22nd, aged thirteen, most disgraceful." But she was docile and affectionate towards her family. *Louise l'étourdie* was her nickname. Before going to live at Frankfurt she had seen Holland from the Castle of Broich in the Ruhr, also Strasburg, and had been present at the coronation of the Emperor Francis in Frankfurt.

In October 1792 the grandmother flees with her grandchildren to Hildburghausen, where Louise meets her father, who has advanced views, and refuses to oppose the revolution. His brother-

in-law, Princess Louise's uncle, Prince George of Hesse, and the wife of the burgomaster of Frankfurt, act as intermediaries in bringing about a double Darmstadt-Hohenzollern marriage, namely, between the Crown Prince and Louise, and between Frederica and Louis. The prospect of such an alliance with the Prussian Court is not alluring, on account of Countess Lichtenau, but the uncle carries it through. Frederick William II selects his daughter-in-law at the theatre in Frankfurt. "Since my last letter", he writes, "I have had no time for writing; there have been continual festivities, chiefly owing to the presence of distinguished strangers, namely, Princess George of Darmstadt and her two charming granddaughters, the children of Prince Charles of Mecklenburg, consequently nieces of the Queen of England. When I saw these two angels for the first time, during the prologue of the play, I was so struck by their beauty that I was quite beside myself when their grandmother presented them to me. I longed for them to see and fall in love with my sons. The next day my sons made their acquaintance at a ball, and were quite enchanted with them. I did my best to throw them together as much as possible and give them an opportunity of learning to know one another well. As far as I can see, the two angels are as good as they are beautiful, and now it is a case of love and the long and short of it is that the young people have made up their minds to marry." The Crown Prince had only seen Louise the first evening through the grating of the box. He becomes engaged to her at the White Swan.

Later on he says, in speaking of that occasion: "I was as shy as I was happy, however, and after a good deal of stammering and disconnected talk I finally took courage and made my proposal without much ado. We were standing by the window, my wife leaning against the wall. She consented with maidenly modesty, but in affectionate terms. I asked permission, and sealed the solemn engagement with a kiss." Louise is by no means overwhelmed. In writing to her fiancé, she informs him that she is "not indifferent to him". Soon after that he becomes her "dear Fritz", who is taking pedantic pains to break her of eating sweets, and other bad habits. At the military camp at Bodenheim she notices the "searching" eyes of the King's young cousin

Louis Ferdinand, Prince Ferdinand's second son. On the 23rd of December, nine months after that visit to the theatre, the Mecklenburg Princesses are received at Potsdam and in Berlin. The Queen is far from gracious to them. Louis Ferdinand's sister, Princess Louise of Prussia, who was to suffer a good deal from intrigues herself later on, as Princess Radziwill, remarks in her multifarious memoirs: "It was said that she would have preferred one of her Baden or Homburg nieces as daughters-in-law, and was not particularly pleased with her sons' choice. They were playing lotto, the Crown Princess bowing to the people who passed by at the reception, when the Queen said to her rather sharply: 'When I hold a Drawing Room it is my affair alone; I am the only one to whom people pay their respects.' "

Fault was also found with Princess Louise. The Princesses were still prettier in their evening dresses, bordered with ermine, than in the morning. The King admires the waltz, a dance introduced by the Princesses, which had hitherto been prohibited at the Court. The Queen considers it "indecent", and is very angry. The marriage ceremony takes place on Christmas Day, in the *Weisse Saal* of the Castle in Berlin, and is celebrated by a salute of seventy-two guns, a banquet, and the performance of a torch dance by eighteen Ministers. "The Crown Princess", says Louise Radziwill, "was an angel of beauty. The Royal diadem on her fair hair suited her to perfection. The Crown Prince was profoundly impressed by his good fortune, notwithstanding his outwardly calm and serious demeanour. The day after the wedding the newly married couple gave a dinner, and on the 27th the same ceremonies were repeated at the marriage of Prince Louis, whose frigid manner, however, made it evident that his was not a love marriage."

In the four years that elapse before the death of Frederick William II, Countess Lichtenau is the cause of a silent conflict between him and his eldest son. The latter is reported to have said to Mencke, a member of the Cabinet: "You know the woman who has sold the State to England, and who robs my father daily in order to enrich herself, the Countess Lichtenau. I think I have a perfect right to imprison her and have her punished as she deserves." At the King's death-bed he gives her a black

look. "What did my son say to you?" the dying man asks, the next time she comes into his room. "Nothing." "What", he groans, "not a word of thanks? Is it possible? I cannot understand it." Hardly is the breath out of his body when she is notified of her arrest; Colonel von Zastrow and Major von Kleist are taken into custody by order of Frederick William III and guarded by sixteen soldiers in the *Kavalier Haus* in the *Neue Garten*. Their property is confiscated. The inquiry into the charges against them is not conducted by a Court of Justice, but by a specially appointed Commission. She is found innocent of the charge of having embezzled the Crown diamonds and forcibly removed two diamond rings from the King's fingers: the diamonds and rings are found in the *nécessaire* in the blue room. The verdict was that the Countess had done nothing deserving of punishment. Nevertheless, Frederick William III left her nothing but her house in the Mohren Strasse and a pension of four thousand talers. She is kept a prisoner at Gross-Glogau, where she leads quite a passable life. In 1802 she is allowed to move to Breslau and marry the playwright Franz von Holbein, who had given concerts as a singer in Glogau. The marriage is dissolved. Frederick William is more conciliatory. He gives her back her Lichtenau and Breitenwerder estates. From 1812 onwards she lives in Berlin, and dies in 1820, at the age of sixty-eight.

Louise's husband refuses to be called Frederick; his great-uncle is to him sacrosanct. He says to the Hereditary Prince of Anhalt-Dessau: "I will do my duty." And that is just the kind of man he is: frugal-minded, with a stern sense of duty. Heads of departments and presidents have to draw up a list of "useless loafers" amongst the innumerable officials, within the first few weeks after his accession. His advisers are Menche and Köckeritz; after Mencke's resignation, Beyme and, as second PrivyCouncillor, Lombard, the son of a hairdresser belonging to the French Colony in Berlin, who was afterwards one of a triumvirate including the intriguing Foreign Minister, Count Haugwitz, and the Marchese Lucchesini, Ambassador in Paris. Frederick William takes very little interest in State affairs. The parade ground is more to his taste, although he has no wish for war. "*Bon bourgeois, bon père de famille*, but no King for times like these", was what the

foreign diplomats said of him. "One must pity, but cannot help liking him."

He and Louise are now a great deal to one another; she contributes the ardour and enthusiasm that he lacks. The days in the palace he occupied as Crown Prince, in which he continues to live, or in the north-west wing of the palace at Potsdam, are monotonous. "At half-past eight", Princess Marianne, wife of Frederick William's brother William, writes, "we sit down to supper, I with Their Majesties at a small round table, with the dear family of six, the ladies and gentlemen in attendance at another table; as a rule no one speaks, and we amuse ourselves by reading the bill of fare. At nine o'clock the officer on duty comes in with a report; we get up, move about the room or work till half-past ten, the latest hour for withdrawal." Frederica, "Ika", the Queen's sister, has been a widow since December 1796. She starts a liaison with Prince Louis Ferdinand. In 1794 he had been enamoured of Louise herself. "Hitherto it has only been a boyish fancy", says Count Joseph Wengersky, one of the gentlemen-in-waiting, "but the consequences may be far-reaching. Countess Voss"—Mistress of the Robes to the Crown Princess, as she then was—"with her experience, trembles and expostulates, but no attention is paid; she is only ridiculed. Fräulein von Viereck is scolded if she ventures to remonstrate. The greatest danger, however, is the Princess's confidence in a bad woman, Frau von Schlabrendorf. Such a friend, of whose character no one can say a good word, a freethinker, whose morality is purely philosophic, is a curse to a young, proud, and lively Princess, who has only just made her début and is flattered to the skies."

A marriage between Frederica and Louis Ferdinand is put out of the question by her flirting too much with Prince Adolphus of England, at Pyrmont, and the King refusing his consent. In 1798 she attracts an officer in the Guards, Prince Frederick of Solms-Braunfels. At Christmas, Louise informs her husband that to avoid scandal the chaplain of the hospital for disabled soldiers must marry them at once, and they have to go to Ansbach. Frederica renounces her right to Royal rank and her position at the Court. She does not settle down even with Solms, who is a coarse drunkard. She has several more love affairs, and

captivates the Duke of Cambridge, Metternich, and the blasé Gentz, who extols her "harmonious beauty" and her "endless resources". In 1815 she marries the Duke of Cumberland, becomes through him Queen of Hanover, and dies in 1841.

Louise, who is fair and pale, does not inspire these passions; but sentimental panegyrists praise her "English" figure, which later on becomes full and imposing. She has a slight defect, a swelling on her neck, which she conceals by a scarf under her chin, and the ladies of the Court copy this scarf and the *coiffure* which suits it. The surly Colonel (afterwards Marshal) Yorck von Wartenburg does not like the King being overshadowed by her; he says she has ugly feet and her hands are too large. People complain that she is too fond of dancing. "Nothing is thought of but fancy-dress balls", writes Fräulein von Voss in her diary, in 1799, "whilst the Kings of Sardinia and Naples are fleeing and Ehrenbreitstein is being taken. God only knows what the end of it all will be; Heaven grant that our turn may not come."

Louise delights in Auguste Lafontaine's novels. The soul beneath her superficiality is gradually stirred. Frau von Berggin, a friend of Herder, and now a friend of the Queen, encourages her to read Herder and Jean Paul, to the great annoyance of Frederick William, who complains of "unauthorized persons smuggling the incomprehensible works of popular German literary men and eccentric writers of the day into her hands". After many trials she sums up her whole womanly creed in the following words: "I am so fond of human beings; my whole nature is to love them. I should so like to see people happy and help to make them so, even at my own expense."

She is affected by the catastrophe of 1806. Louis Ferdinand is killed at Saalfeld, the Prussian Alcibiades who was sent to Magdeburg under arrest by Frederick William III in 1799 because he would not leave Hamburg, on account of a Baroness Montmorency, and was neglecting the duties of his command. "A pretence was made of believing that he was living at Hamburg for political and revolutionary purposes", says his sister, Princess Louise. The Prussian patriots are the "Queen's Party". But as far back as in February, when she was suffering from symptoms

of lung disease and had no energy at all, she wrote to her brother George: "God knows that domestic harmony is the only happiness worth the name. For the rest, everything round me and everywhere is so dreadful, the horizon so dark and grey, that I am more than ever sensible of the happiness of such a husband and such brothers and sisters. Ah yes, dearest George, the crown weighs heavily if one wishes to remain good and true, if one does not wish to become demoralized." She had advocated the memorial, signed by Princes of the House, which was presented to the King at Charlottenburg in September, demanding the dismissal of von Haugwitz, Lombard, and Beyme. Yet she refused to receive Louis Ferdinand. His last words to her were: "I leave firmly resolved to die for my King and country, but without any hope of being able to save it."

On the 18th of October she is obliged to leave Berlin. "You see me in tears", she said to her sons at Schwedt. "I weep for the defeat of the army and the loss of its glory; it has not fulfilled the King's expectations." He reaches Cüstrin a day before her arrival. Graudenz, Osterode, and Ortelsburg are the next halting places of both. She hears that Napoleon, the "outcast from hell", likens her to Tasso's Armida and to Lady Hamilton, casts suspicion on her friendship with the Tsar Alexander, in bulletins and newspaper reports. With streaming eyes she exclaims: "Cannot this wicked man be satisfied with having robbed the King of his States? Must his wife be robbed of her honour as well?" But Frederick William is what he always was; he gives Elche the sack at Osterode. The officers of the Guards are horrified. "His indecision, his temper, his infatuation for his *entourage*, are our undoing", writes Frau von Voss. The rout continues, through Königsberg to Memel, a retreat in physical misery; a night in a room with broken windows, through which the snow drifts on to Louise's bed. But she recovers at Memel. Sleighing expeditions, tea, "insipid novel" reading; the King looks through a portfolio of engravings, games and *jeux d'esprit*, and she sometimes sings.

Armistice concluded at Tilsit in July 1807. The King and Hardenberg ask the Queen to come to Piktuponen to interview the French Emperor; that would have more effect than any

negotiations. "*Je ne me flatte de rien*", she replies; but she goes. On the 6th, Napoleon rides in, surrounded by his marshals, throws himself impetuously off his horse, and hurries up the staircase of the house, on the top step of which the Queen receives him. She says: "Sir, I know that you accuse me of interfering in political matters." He replies: "Madam, pray do not believe that I pay any attention to slanderous suggestions." Louise: "Sir, I am a wife and mother, and as such I plead with you for Prussia, the country to which I am bound by so many ties, which has given us so many proofs of touching devotion. The King attaches more importance to the Province of Magdeburg than to anything else, the left bank of the Elbe, of which Your Majesty's first proposals deprive us. I therefore appeal to your generous heart, and implore and await this favour from Your Majesty." Napoleon, evasively: "You will be very glad to go back to Berlin, madam." Louise: "Yes, Sir, but not upon any terms. It rests with Your Majesty to enable us to return without sorrow, and to put us under an obligation to you." Napoleon, gallant, in the sort of way in which he is gallant, for instance, towards Mademoiselle Georges, the actress in Paris: "Madam, you are wearing a charming dress. Where was it made, may I ask?" Louise: "In Prussia, Sir." Napoleon: "In Breslau? In Berlin? Is crêpe made in your factories too?" Louise: "No, Sir. But Your Majesty says nothing comforting about the one and only matter that interests me at this moment. Your Majesty is too noble-minded, and your great qualities are combined with too exalted a character for it to be possible for you to be indifferent to my suffering." She curtseys low, and, looking down on her bare shoulders, he smiles. Frederick William comes in. The Emperor says afterwards to the Tsar: "The King of Prussia came just in time. If he had come only a quarter of an hour later, I should have promised the Queen everything." And after she and her husband have dined with him and she has left: "This Queen of Prussia is a charming woman; her heart is in keeping with her face. Upon my honour, instead of depriving her of a crown, one might feel tempted to lay one at her feet."

But Louise gains nothing; and Napoleon is still more haughtily insulting towards Frederick William. When the latter asks whether

the bestowal of the Dukedom of Warsaw on the King of Saxony is to be as a reward for his disloyalty, he shouts angrily in his face. Staring at his grey trousers, he says: "Have you to do up those buttons every day? Do you begin at the top or the bottom?"

In October, at Memel, Louise wavers between despair and deceptive hopes. "True, we have terrible examples before our eyes in the new events that are taking place in the world", so she writes to Frau von Berg-Häseler. "King Ferdinand and Queen Caroline are adrift on the ocean, have had to leave even Sicily, the last refuge of their melancholy existence, powerfully protected by two Powers, and—deserted. Will—or rather, may not that be our fate too? Only Frederick William is not a Ferdinand, and I am not a Caroline. A consolation to those who try to do right. But will it help in this brazen age? I could wish that our agony might be short-lived; if we are to be driven out, well, let it be soon." She resides at Königsberg with her husband from February 1808 until the 15th of December 1809, during which period she pays a visit to St. Petersburg (the Winter Palace, a blue satin cloak trimmed with sable, given by the Tsar, a whirl of gaiety, tearful farewell, irreparable disappointment caused by Alexander), has fever, asthma, gives birth to a tenth child, Prince Albrecht, reads Pestalozzi's *Lienhardt und Gertrud.*

On the 23rd of December 1809 entry into Berlin. Audiences, processions, military reviews, balls, juvenile theatrical performances, festival of the Order of the Red Eagle. In June 1810 the Queen sets out for Neustrelitz; the King arrives there three days later. She writes on a sheet of paper to her father's secretary: "*Mon cher père, je suis bien heureuse aujourd'hui comme Votre fille et comme Epouse du meilleur des Epoux.*" A move is made to Hohenzieritz. Louise begs for another day. She is feverish. The King is taken ill at Charlottenburg. The Queen has inflammation of the lungs. A clot of blood may prove fatal. Frederick William hastens back with his eldest son, holds her hand in his, which she presses to her lips. The Berlin doctor, Heim, applies all the remedies she has for her asthma. "Her condition", the widower recorded on the 19th of July, "became more and more alarming, and as she was advised, amongst other things, to give herself a little more elbow-room, because it would relieve her, she said:

'That will kill me'; and soon afterwards: 'I am dying. Oh, Lord God, Lord Jesus, do not forsake me'; and quite at the last, when she was hardly able to breathe: 'Lord Jesus, hasten the end.' A few minutes later her face twitched convulsively once or twice and all was over. I closed her dull, vacant eyes."

Alone, without her, he is the weak pedant that he always was. The same man who dismissed Stein in 1806 at Königsberg as an "insubordinate, insolent, obstinate, and disobedient servant of the State", the Nassau Baron, the German, whose fall the grim Prussian Yorck welcomed. The same man who is afterwards beside himself with anger on hearing of Yorck's arrangement with the Russian General Diebitsch: "It is enough to give one a fit. What is to be done now?" The King who calls when all are coming, who is nicknamed "Birchstick" by the Emperor Francis's sister, Theresa of Saxony, at the Vienna Congress, on account of his stiffness, and mockingly described by the Prince de Ligne as a *figure d'arsenal*. An honourable man, but not a hero.

LOUISE CALLED HER FIRST three children her "trio". Charles, named after his grandfather, who finds him "irresistible", was born later, in 1801, and Alexandrina, named after her godfather, the Tsar, in 1803. In May of that year the Queen writes to her brother George: "My little daughter, whose name is Alexandrina Helen, is as pretty, fat, and round as I could possibly wish. Charles is the finest of my children. Charlotte is very tall, gentle, and good, and it will not be difficult to bring her up. William is a very clever, funny child, amusing and witty, Fritz extraordinarily lively, often wayward, but very intelligent and good-hearted. He is most promising, and God will not leave my earnest prayers unanswered." These descriptions are supplemented and emphasized in 1807, when Prussia's star was waning. Louise's anxiety about the Crown Prince's disposition has increased: "His manners are detestable, and require continual attention and severity; for manners come very much from within. The man who shoves with his elbow in preference to pushing gently and politely (according to circumstances) with his hand, in order to put something out of the way, and so forth, is of a somewhat similar turn of mind. William, on the other hand, is simple, straightforward, and sensible, like his father, unless I am very much deceived. He is the most like him in appearance as well, only I don't think he will be as handsome."

It is on the Crown Prince's account that the rector of the educational establishment attached to the monastery of Our Lady at Magdeburg, Friedrich Delbrück, is appointed tutor to him and William, in 1800. He is a philanthropist, a pupil of Basedow's, gentle and sympathetic. He gives the Queen Klopstock to read, *Engel's Philosophen für die Welt*, and Wieland's *Agathon*. She would like him to bring up the little Princes to be "benevolent philanthropists". Besides their lessons they have innocent family amusements: in the parks at Potsdam and Charlottenburg, in the fields at Paretz, the country house at Potsdam, where Frederick William III is called the "Schulze" (mayor of a village), on the Rabbit Island, the Havel Island, afterwards renamed "Pfaueninsel". "Good morning, dear dear children", is Louise's

fond greeting to the three in September 1801. "Papa joins me in kissing you all in his thoughts, and commissions me to tell you that he enjoyed the carrots, peas, chervil, parsley, beans, cabbage, and salad, from your garden, immensely; so did I. Papa said: 'Those are really industrious children. I will eat it all to their good health'; and I said the good children liked giving it so much, it gave them so much pleasure to send it, because they knew that Papa and Mamma would be delighted, and that did their little hearts good. Yes, dear children, we were very pleased indeed, and showed everyone what you had sent, so that they might admire your industry. To-day we are having a dish of carrots for dinner, planted and grown by you. We shall enjoy them. Now good-bye, dear children; I love you with all my heart and soul, and am your ever affectionate Mother." In winter there is the Christmas market, with its booths crowded round the Castle in Berlin. Drilling lessons prepare the boys for the army. In 1803 they are given their first uniforms.

William is nine years old at the time of the flight to Königsberg before "Nöppel" (Napoleon), ten years old when they flee to Memel. At Königsberg, where he and his brother run about and play ball and shoot at a target in the grounds of Hippel's garden, he also goes to visit the orphanage; and on the 28th of December 1809 he writes from Berlin to the Director, a follower of Pestalozzi: "Dear Father Zeller,—How are you? Thank you very much for the kindness you showed me, and for what you have written to me. I will try to do all that you advise. Keep me in your kind remembrance, and remember me to Herr Griebe, Herr Funk, Herr Kolbe, and the whole establishment. Good-bye, dear Father. Do not forget your son Willy."

His leniency with the Crown Prince impairs Delbrück's authority. Even Louise, who esteems him as a "man of honour", blames him for it. Fritz is to be put under a military governor, and Delbrück is only to have charge of the others in future. He begs to be allowed to carry on his work. The Queen, influenced by the broken fortunes of the Prussian State, is of the opinion that "an education which only makes the Crown Prince an upright, religious, good man, as far as morals are concerned, is not enough. He must have a thorough knowledge of the

country and a clear grasp of politics; over and above that, he must form a general personal opinion which will enable him to undertake and accomplish great things. Delbrück is not the man for that. Before this great result can be achieved, the foundation on which to base the hope of it must be strengthened. The Crown Prince has intelligence, imagination, and a thirst for knowledge, but competent judges consider that these qualities have not been sufficiently turned to account. Consequently a man must be found who will take the Crown Prince in hand, and gain a hold over him, in order to lead him in the desired direction." In March 1809 General Diericke is appointed governor-in-chief to all the Princes, and Major Gaudy governor to the Crown Prince in particular. Delbrück is dismissed in December 1809.

William entered the Prussian army on the 1st of January 1807, and received his commission as an ensign in the Guards on completing his tenth year, March 22nd, and his promotion to a lieutenancy at Christmas. There are entries, dating from September 1808, in the eleven-year-old boy's diary. Russians pass through Königsberg on their way to visit the Emperor Napoleon at Erfurt: the Minister Rumiantzow, the Grand Duke Constantine, the "wild Hotspur", as he is called by Delbrück, then the Tsar himself. And William describes a review, a walk, a dinner, the Tsar's entry, etc., in boyish fashion, paying special attention to military details: "The bugles instantly sound the alarm. The young noblemen come to fetch the Colours, which we help to unfurl. Then No. 1 company came and fetched the Colours, all the regiments doing likewise, so as to form a cordon and the Emperor's guard of honour. From six to seven we sat at a window, awaiting the Emperor. At seven he arrived; arms were presented, a salute was fired, and the troops cheered. Tea was served at seven, and at nine o'clock we sat down to dinner." He is no less thorough in describing the review: "The Emperor went round inspecting the troops with Papa. Rifles were then shouldered, arms presented, and shouldered again; the troops marched past and saluted." In addition to this German diary, full of orthographical mistakes, he kept one in French.

His mother's death at Hohenzieritz shocks and bewilders the

child's mind. Even without her he is very good and well-behaved, like his father, whose example is now the only one he accepts as a guide. He teaches his brother Charles what is correct in the army. In December 1811 he carefully admonishes him to take white linen trousers to Potsdam, as they will probably be worn at the review. "Papa says that Fritz is to lend you his sash. You must also take long white cloth trousers with you, as you will probably put them on under the others, on account of the cold, as we do. Papa says you are to do this too. Powder will be worn. So you must act accordingly."

In 1813 he still has no idea that the people are waking up. Nothing will shake his belief that Frederick William III and his allies are "the three great men who saved Europe". At the beginning of the year he is at Breslau, but in November he is allowed to go to France for six weeks. On his way there, via Aix-la-Chapelle, he passes Leipzig. "The battlefields", he tells his brother Charles, "have been cleared of the dead bodies, but there are still a great many horses, shakos, and cartridge-cases to be seen. Leipzig is a very pretty town; the houses in the suburbs look as though they were studded with bullet-holes—many of them are entirely wrecked. I saw the place where Poniatowsky was drowned. Here in Lützen we are once more on classic ground." For he knows something of the history of Gustavus Adolphus; and he adds compliments intended for his and Charles's present governor, Major Menu von Minutoli. He finds several monarchs at Frankfurt: Papa, the Tsar, the Emperor Francis, and the King of Würtemberg.

The youth of sixteen already has the same interests as a military tailor or a non-commissioned officer in charge of a military dépôt. The regulations for the Russian Guards Reserves are of immense importance to him: "The Littau regiment retains its uniform with red collar and facings, the Grenadier Guards are to have a light blue instead of the present red collar with red facings," and so forth. But for all his precocity, he is still very unformed; and he tells his brother with innocent enjoyment what fun they had at Aunt Taxi's (Theresa, Louise's sister) and of their having acted several small plays. To his sister Alexandrina he writes: "We are leading a very gay life here—dinners almost

every day." And in conclusion: "Forgive the blots, but the messenger is just going, and it is a quarter to six; I must go to the theatre. Good-bye, dear sister. Think sometimes of your loving brother William."

He remained more than six weeks in France, and was in Paris until the end of June. He records his experiences in a diary and in letters. On the 1st of January Sacken's Russian corps crosses the Rhine, near the mouth of the Neckar. He accompanies his father on horseback, and sees the flash of the guns. The capture of the last stronghold cost "a fair amount of lives", and he criticizes the method of attack: "Perhaps the redoubt might have been taken with less loss if the garrison had been so worn out by the artillery drawn up on the right bank that it would have been useless to think of defending it." Alexandrina sends him a *ballon* made of her hair, and a sash. From Chaumont-en-Bassigny, where the King is informed of Blücher's engagement at Brienne, he informs his sister that he is sending her a pair of wooden shoes "such as the ladies wear in the towns in bad weather." It is very cold, then a thaw sets in again; "most disagreeable".

On the 1st of February, Bar-sur-Aube, the Tsar, Blücher, and Schwarzenberg. "Took part in the first battle, but unfortunately at a considerable distance, without having heard a single shot fired." The day after that at Blücher's headquarters. "A quantity of champagne was produced and drunk to Blücher's health. The tops of the bottles were cut off with the sword." Afterwards a ride in a snowstorm and back, as there was nothing serious going on at the front. He dismounts and gets into a hackney-carriage with the King. "I had no cloak; sat, or rather crouched, on the windy side; could not hold on anywhere; and this is how we got back. I was turned into a snowball. I would ten times rather have remained on horseback. I was wet through and through." The negotiations at Châtillon are anything but a source of satisfaction to the young Prince. "It is rumoured that a peace is to be concluded at the conference and sent to Napoleon for his signature. I should not like that, for I have seen so little of the war as yet."

Blücher's Schleswig army is defeated at Montmirail. "The

first important reverse", William says, "that we have met with in France." But he consoles himself: "As to that, there must be reverses in every war . . . we must not lose courage." And he mildly protests against the King's pessimism. "The King, who is apt to take a gloomy view of things, spoke at great length about it all. His opinion was that we were back at the days of Auerstedt, and that we should probably now go quietly back across the Rhine, and if peace were concluded after that, it would be unpardonable to have sacrificed so many lives and gained nothing more by it than could have been attained at Frankfurt in November 1813. . . . The King spoke in this way almost daily, so that it sometimes made us quite unhappy, although we had hopes of better things. When the King had gone, we others stayed on together and talked over various things from every point of view; the result was that we were able to look at the future quite calmly: something must inevitably be decided within the next few days." Frederick, who put everything down to the troops being too daring, said in Gneisenau's quarters at Troyes, in his son's presence: "You have made a pretty mess of things between you!"

Napoleon defeats Yorck, Kleist, the Russian General Wittgenstein, and the Crown Prince of Würtemberg. Retreat of the Allies. Negotiations over an armistice. General conference at Bar-sur-Aube. Fritz and William, with Lück, the Crown Prince's present governor, scrutinize the faces of those taking part in it; but the Tsar is too good a dissembler. The King then fixes the 27th of February for the offensive. William, who is "not to expose himself unnecessarily", nevertheless comes under fire, through the charge of the Pskoff cuirassiers, who, supported by the Kaluga infantry regiment, throw the French back behind the vineyard walls. William, "blissfully happy", says in his diary: "The King rode with us in this cavalry charge, almost close up to where we were greeted by a terrible volley of bullets, still very warm from the heat of the rifle-barrels. A music that was as though gadflies and gnats were all buzzing at the same time. It was my first experience of it, and Fritz declared that he had never been in anything so bad. As we rode back, the bullets continued to fall close to us. It is really a miracle that we all

returned safe and sound, particularly as none of the suite were hit either. When this attack had been successfully repulsed, we rode into the centre." It strikes the Prince afterwards that he has eaten nothing but two slices of bread and butter all day. On the 10th of March, Louise's birthday, the King commends him for bravery at Bar-sur-Aube, and bestows the Iron Cross on him; he embraces his father in tears.

Again, with regard to Blücher's victory at Laon: "They say it was beautiful, hearing the shouting, and the drums and bugle-calls and bands in the moonlit night. A pity that we were not there." Then, on the 31st of March, the entry into Paris, the great "den of iniquity". No one could imagine the joy of the royalist citizens, he says. He writes as follows to his brother Charles: "We have already seen all the principal sights, such as the Tuileries with its Oriental magnificence, the Louvre, the beautiful picture-gallery, fourteen hundred feet long, the collection of antiquities (the Apollo and the Laocoon were packed up), the Invalides, the Jardin des Plantes with its natural-history collection and wild animals. An elephant amongst others. The Luxembourg Palace, the Petits Augustins, a collection of monuments and statues dating from the fourteenth century, very interesting; the Pantheon, the Atelier Gérard, the Corps Législatif, and the Palais Royal, where everything is to be had. What a city!!!—no one can imagine what it is. I like Berlin still better, however." The notes of admiration are repeated: "Napoleon has abdicated. What wonderful times!!!!!" And, in astonishment at the theatre and the ballet, which he will still appreciate in his old age, without having any ear for music, he exclaims: "My word, what a heavenly ballet at the opera!!! Divine, Divine!!!" Extract from a letter of April 7th: "Nöppel surrenders to the Emperor Alexander and goes to Russia. Can such a man end more ignobly? I would have shot myself dead thirty times over, rather than do that. Natzmer sends you herewith a parcel of the most elegant shoes. They are made by the Duchess of Rovigo's shoemaker."

The engagements fought against Marmontel and Mortier in the neighbourhood of La Fère Champenoise conclude the campaign; William is at present at the one against the Pacthod division,

Dähling, Frederick William III. and Queen Louise with their Children

an action which he describes with *empressement*: "No one can imagine the uproar there was." But the seventeen-year-old Prince, who has served as adjutant, has now learnt to see war in its true aspect. "It is terrible to see this calamity to the human race at such close quarters; not only the misery men have to endure everywhere, but to see it on the battlefields as well." Both there and in his quarters he has the company of Colonel Oldwig von Natzmer, aide-de-camp to the King, who is attached to him in the capacity of military cicerone, and eventually becomes his trusted adviser and his friend, although he is fifteen years older than the Prince. He is described by Caroline von Rochow as having been "a sort of protégé of all the princely personages, a man to whom all the ladies lost their hearts, more or less seriously. Countess Brandenburg was no doubt the great love of his life, but he did not scorn others on that account. People sometimes wondered what there was to justify his popularity: he was neither handsome, nor distinguished looking, nor agreeable, but he had an undeniable *brevet d'élégance*."

In June, after the conclusion of peace in Paris, the Tsar and the King go to England, the latter accompanied by Blücher, Gneisenau, the Crown Prince, and Prince William. Naval salute at Portsmouth; dockyards with their powerful machinery, anchor-forging (one could imagine oneself in hell), manœuvres on the battleship *Impregnable*, Wellington, Highlanders with bagpipes, London, sea-sickness, etc. William makes comparisons: "I prefer London to Paris. England is almost a garden. None of the pictures one sees are exaggerated. There are horses, cattle, deer, rabbits, etc., all running together in the parks. And the English turf! One is continually sinking into it, it is so soft. But I must not say more, or I shall long to be back in England." But at the end of this letter to Charles, to whom he is now writing again from Paris, he playfully signs himself "William, Major in the Cavalry, Ha ha! ha ha ha!"; and, just like his father, he does not omit to mention the new buttoned trousers. He follows the King, who is travelling incognito as Count von Ruppin, to Neuchâtel and the Bernese Oberland. In Paris he amuses himself with the Grand Dukes Michael and Nicholas. They drive a cabriolet, make a frantic noise calling out for the way to be cleared, and make

purchases at the *Petit Dunkerque*, Nicholas to the tune of 50,000 francs. William is more economical: "I cannot spend so much on mine." A dinner with Louis XVIII: "That will be a very stiff affair."

In August Frederick, accompanied by the Princes, Bülow, and Tauenzien, makes his entry through the Brandenburg Gate, now crowned by the Quadriga of Victory, which has been brought back to Berlin. In September the Vienna Congress begins. On the 2nd of March Napoleon lands at Cannes. On the 18th of June Waterloo. On the 22nd the King leaves Potsdam for the Rhine, and William sees Paris once more in June. Before that, on the 8th of June, he has been confirmed in the Royal Chapel at Charlottenburg, by the Court Chaplain. The Prince writes his own profession of faith for the occasion, and a collection of "principles". The creed is sensible and impersonal, not without the Protestant positive use of the deistic term *Etre Suprême*: "There is a Supreme Being. Man is intended to aim at the highest perfection. The spirit is immortal, and will some day pass on to a higher life, a life in which it will be rewarded and perfected." The moral principles are more personal: the obligations of Princes; even a Prince only a human being; mental and spiritual culture, avoidance of intemperance and sensuality, "which degrade human nature to the lowest depths". "Never will I look for glory in things in which only a fool can find it. My forces, both mental and physical, belong to the world, to my country." And then, after enumerating twenty-seven articles, comes what is certainly most characteristic of the Prince: "I love my father with reverential affection. I will do my utmost to be a comfort to him. I will scrupulously obey his orders. I accept the laws and Constitution of the State in every respect. I shall never forget the noble qualities of the Queen, my beloved mother, and her sainted memory will live for ever in a warm and grateful heart. I will scrupulously discharge the duties of my position, and whilst sternly exhorting my subjects to carry out their obligations, I will act kindly towards them." And as a thirty-sixth article, one which becomes a guiding principle for Prussian rulers: "I am determined to have nothing to do with corrupt men and flatterers. The best, most straightforward and upright

men will be those I shall prefer. I shall regard those as my true friends who tell me the truth when it might be disagreeable to me."

For several years the Prince's life is fairly uneventful. As a soldier he tends to become more precise and methodical than at first. In 1818 William has to represent his father on one occasion in military matters, and he is promoted to the rank of Major-General. In 1820 he is given command of the 1st Guards Division. In 1817 he is in Russia for his sister Charlotte's wedding to Nicholas. While there he writes, as Colonel-in-Chief of the 7th (2nd West Prussian) Regiment, to thank Colonel von Seydlitz for his report and the sentiments expressed for him: "It is a source of genuine pride to me to find myself at the head of a regiment towards which the King has always been kindly disposed, partly on account of its conduct in peace-time, but also on account of its excellent behaviour in the presence of the enemy. Bearing this, his august opinion, always in mind, we shall succeed in showing ourselves worthy of his favour in future." In 1818 he is at Aix-la-Chapelle and Brussels. Alexandrina, who never has a line from the Crown Prince, speaks of William as "a very good brother", for he so often writes to her. She will not ask him how he liked the Bavarian Princesses: "For you are so stony-hearted, that no one but Ida or E. has any attraction for you." The Court historian has no idea who Ida may be, but E. is Elizabeth Radziwill. An attraction that becomes almost a tragedy for the young man of twenty-four.

ELISA

IN MARCH 1796 Princess Louise of Prussia married the Polish Prince Anton Radziwill. He is the second son of Michael, Palatine of Wilna, and is descended from what was a reigning House until the partition of Poland. The younger son of the Great Elector, Ludwig, was married to a Radziwill. Frederick William II consented to the new alliance, favoured by Prince Henry, and considered a *mésalliance* by the Berlin Court, and yet he writes: "Prince Anton not being a member of a reigning House, he cannot arrange for a State-betrothal, and informs the family, moreover, that he will gladly command festivities in honour of the wedding, but could not ask his Ministers to perform a torch dance before a Prince who does not belong to a reigning House."

Anton and Louise Radziwill occupy the Schulenburg *palais* in the Wilhelmstrasse, later on the residence of the Imperial Chancellor. Immediately after the change of Government, Frederick William III acts very offensively towards the Prince. His writing-table and toilet-table are searched for political papers by von Haugwitz, von Alvensleben, and the Chancellor. He had written, with Prince Henry's knowledge, to General Woyczinski, who is now arrested in Austria, concerning the restoration of Poland; a Hohenzollern, Louis Ferdinand, was suggested in that connection in Berlin. Anton Radziwill demands a trial; the King has to apologize and express regret. He became Prince Radziwill in 1813, was an art-enthusiast and a composer; he set Goethe's *Pandora* and *Faust* to music. In 1803 he and Louise have a daughter, Elisa, who accompanies him on the guitar when he sings in the street before his house at Memel, after the flight of the Court to the East Prussian frontier from Napoleon. The little girl has a foster-sister, Blanche von Wildenbruch, the daughter of Louis Ferdinand, and, from the age of fourteen, a bosom friend, Lulu von Kleist, whose mother, a friend of Queen Louise, unfortunately fell in love with her undesirable cousin, Henry von Kleist, from whom she was divorced in 1812. Elisa is not of a lively nature; she is inclined to form romantic attachments.

In 1815 she and Prince William, who is six years older, dance

together in a fancy-dress quadrille, on the occasion of the peace festivities. The Prince goes to Posen as Governor, but he spends the season in Berlin with his family. William is often there as a guest. In 1817 he is wounded in Russia by a bite. His sister Alexandrina writes to him that "Ewig" is "very much concerned about his misfortune". "Ewig" is Elisa's romantic pet-name, and is engraved on a signet with which she seals her letters. But even after the winter of 1819 he still thought he ought not to allow himself to think of Elisa: "No one can deny the fact that she helps to make the house delightful, but that is all." It is not until the following winter that an intimacy grows up between them; and in June 1820 the Royal Princes and Alexandrina make an expedition to Freienwald with the young Radziwills. Elisa, emulating the sentimentality of the pocket-almanac, which speaks of the "beautiful, but melancholy dark green of the cedars", records her impressions of the day as follows: "A German band played a lovely Vienna waltz. We danced. All the ladies had fresh sprays of wild roses and pinks in their hair. At half-past one the frolic came to an end, and we all went happily home to bed."

The seventeen-year-old girl is grateful for William's attentions, whilst he for his part is aware of the "drawbacks to the family alliance into which I should enter". There is a good deal of talk about him and Elisa. The King sends the Lord Chamberlain to him, and he declares that he is not thinking of marrying the Radziwill Princess, as he is only too well aware of the obstacles in the way of it. At Fürstenstein, near Warmbrunn, where he is under Natzmer's eye, he adopts a forced attitude of reserve that seems strange to Elisa's mother. Speaking of it to her sister-in-law, Princess Marianne, she says: "Natzmer has an expression that I dislike, I hardly know myself why; I felt quite uneasy, particularly as William was so cold and stiff, almost rude to me, and only nice to Elisa when Natzmer was not present. The day I left Berlin he was with my sons as early as eight o'clock in the morning, and was so cordial and affectionate that I was really touched. He rode a little way with us, wanted to go through the Behrenstrasse so as to say good-bye to us again at the Castle, but my postilions had to go another way, on account of a broken

bridge. He wrote me a very nice, cordial letter, which I found here, and now this strange manner on meeting us again!" Yet a fortnight later he is at Landeck, as affectionate as ever towards Elisa, and feels parting from her. Louise tells the same sister-in-law that "he writes very long letters, as before, which Elisa generally insists upon reading. Whether she finds any satisfaction in them I cannot tell, for we never speak of him, and I do all I can to divert her mind from him, as I think it better that she should not think of him any more." The Princess complains of "gossip and talk" in Posen, a "chattering little world such as the one here". Consequently she delays returning to Berlin till December. William has become uneasy. True, he assures Natzmer that people have suspected and exaggerated his affection for Elisa and that he has ceased to think of it. Yet he admits that the arrival of the family affects him strangely, and says: "I wish I were you, and could go off to Berlin!"

In January his love for Elisa reached a climax. He acted the part of the Grand Mogul in a representation of *Lalla Rookh* given at the Castle in honour of the Grand Duke Nicholas and Charlotte, who are on a visit to the Berlin Court. In a letter to Natzmer, he says: "You can understand the turmoil we have lived in for the last fortnight, as you have plenty of experience of preparations for quadrilles, but there has hardly ever been such general excitement in the town as on this occasion, for everything had to be done in great haste. Carriages were being driven from one shop to another all day long, the promenades were deserted by the *beau monde*, who were all to be found in the shops. That was unusual, but the result was worthy of the efforts made. The masked ball was magnificent, truly regal, as well as the whole fête. The idea of having *tableaux* on such an occasion was new, and all expectations were more than fulfilled. What the newspapers said about the *tableau* of the Peri and the Ghebers is quite true. Princess Elisa (Peri) and Countess Mathilde Voss (angel of light) represented the former. . . ." Elisa scored a great triumph as the Peri, in white with butterfly wings, and a turban glittering with jewels, holding flowers in her hands, and with unbound hair, particularly in the final *tableau* before the gate of heaven.

The remembrance of the lovely vision sends a thrill through William's heart. His sister Alexandrina, who is engaged to Duke Paul of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, chosen for her by her father, and to whom she is to be married in May 1822, now becomes her brother's confidant. She asks him to tell her his secret. He does this in a letter from Aix-la-Chapelle, dated July 28, 1821: "You have all persistently chaffed me about Elisa for the last four years; I submitted to it; I liked her as a friend, without ever thinking of an alliance which her position made impossible. Then rumours reached my ears last summer which spoke of a marriage between me and Elisa. I became more careful, and was advised to be more careful, and I saw that I might easily have given cause for hopes that could not be fulfilled. I must therefore try to draw back gently. That began in Silesia, and was continued this winter in Berlin. But in making this effort I realized for the first time that Elisa was more than a friend to me. I had to get over my feeling for her, and I thought I was understood. Elisa was very cold to me, however; this gave me great pain, for it made me realize more than I had suspected, and I saw that hopes had been fixed on me in consequence of my former behaviour. I was misunderstood. Love was expected where there was and ought to be nothing but friendship. In order to win this back, I paid her more attention; but I don't know what to make of her attitude, and so I parted from her—as the true friend I shall always remain. Now you can judge for yourself whether I could be happy under these conditions this winter, in spite of all the festivities and gaieties."

And Alexandrina replies from the Pfaueninsel: "I feel very much for your position, but it will be difficult to alter it, for I am sure her people think that an alliance can and ought to be concluded: any impartial observer could see that everything was done to bring it about; but my little brother, who did not ask himself any questions, and perhaps did not want to, lest his pleasant dream should vanish, saw nothing, and fell deeper and deeper into the snare. It is lucky that your attention was called to it in good time, although rather late, for I think my poor friend has already dreamed of finding happiness in our family. It is true that she has never said a word about it to me, but it

could easily be seen from her manner when you came. For the rest, I doubt whether she herself is conscious of any feeling of love for you, for she is so absolutely simple-minded and innocent, consequently I have never yet spoken to her about you, or any circumstances that might arise in the future, lest she should realize what would only make her unhappy. I am more than sorry that you cannot be united, for you will not easily find anyone so guileless, and she is a dear friend of mine, whose good qualities and lovableness I appreciate more and more. I ought not to sing her praises to you in this way, but I cannot help it."

In the meantime Elisa is restless. She is "broken-hearted" at being detained in "dear" Berlin by her younger brothers and sisters having measles. She would like to develop her talent for drawing. Mamma reads *Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre* aloud to her, and she makes herself a copy of a letter from Goethe's Wilhelm to Natalie. In August she is at Fürstenstein, in September at Posen. "Oh, Lulu", she writes to Lulu von Kleist, "you cannot guess all that I hope, and that makes me forget the pain of our separation." Then again she is anxious for peace. William is occupied with cavalry manœuvres, under the command of General von Borstell. He leads a division, and hears himself commended, "at the risk of blushing". But he always considers the infantry the chief weapon, so he writes to Natzmer. He also writes to him about the possibility of war in the East, and "the alarming material weakness" of Prussia, which must be counter-balanced by intellectual forces: "The said war would therefore be a very desirable and suitable means of bracing us up." But the Radziwills are expected in Berlin the following week (it is Christmas Day 1821), and again he owns that he has to impress on himself daily the necessity of not allowing his feelings to get the upper hand. "I work a great deal and without intermission. But in the midst of my work Ewig is ever present to my mind, in my hours of solitude."

Then, in January 1822, it seems as though his fortunes might take a different turn. His father, who notices his continued depression, inquires how matters stand. William's reply is that, in spite of his resolve and the struggle he is making, he cannot

face giving up Elisa of his own accord. The King promises to take expert opinion as to the possibility of his marrying the Princess; the House Ministry is to look into the matter. Prince Wittgenstein is the House Minister, and Duke Charles of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, a brother of Queen Louise, in command of the Life Guards, is one of his colleagues. The Ministry come to the conclusion that the marriage would not be in keeping with the Prince's rank, "according to all provisions and legal titles". The King urges his son to make a formal renunciation. No one helps the Prince; everyone advises him to submit, and his answer has to be given on the 16th of February. "Thus from that day forth I stood alone again in the world, which seems to me empty and joyless. I have experienced to the full all that the sympathy and compassion of dear, kind people mean at such a time, but all that does not give comfort; indeed, it only makes the sacrifice the harder, for there is only one opinion as to the value of what I have lost."

He is to go away, to join Prince Frederick of Prussia—who commands the 14th Division at Düsseldorf—in the middle of winter, which is certain to create a "sensation" that he tries to avoid. He also hopes to be strong enough to resist Elisa; but the more serious and sad he is, the kinder she is to him. No one tells the Radziwills how matters stand, until Princess Louise clears up the mystery by writing to him. On the 8th of March his reply tells her what the King had commanded him to do. On the 9th he is received at the Radziwill *palais*, but only by the parents. The Princess cheers him up. He must wait patiently till the Crown Prince is married. Then, finally, she asks if he would like to see Elisa. He replies in the affirmative, and she comes in. They embrace in silence. He can only stammer that he hopes she will still be a true friend to him. She replies: "Oh, certainly," in a tone that thoroughly upsets him, but the "sweet, gentle look" she gives him enables him to recover his self-control. He spends two more days in Berlin. On both he sees Elisa with traces of tears on her face. He had bought miniature lapis lazuli hands for her in Moscow and taken them with him to two balls in Posen; these he now sends her by her brother William Radziwill. On the 15th of February, the day before the crushing interview

with his father, Elisa had given him a blue ring in a case, in which he scratches the date March 9th.

On the 19th of March he writes from Düsseldorf to his anxious sister Alexandrina: "I cannot describe my feelings as I drove out of the town; the last glance at the Wilhelmstrasse was heart-breaking, for I was leaving everything that has hitherto been dear to me on earth behind, who knows for how long?" And: "But she did not love me as I loved her, although I may have been dear to her!! I pray every day for her and for her future happiness, which I have unfortunately destroyed for a time. God bless and keep her, and make her happy in time to come; I can never be that without her." He travelled by way of Frankfurt, Wiesbaden (where he is very low-spirited), Rüdesheim, Coblentz, and Cologne. From Düsseldorf he goes to The Hague ("in the *genre* of Potsdam") and Amsterdam, where he has toothache for five days. He is "indifferent to amusements" and dreads going home: "The thought of appearing again in public with Elisa terrifies me, for of course everyone will be looking at us. If it were possible to see her just amongst her own people, I should fly back to-day, to teach her to know the friend which is all that I can be to her."

He has asked the King to allow him to serve in the Tsar's proposed campaign against the Porte. And he is now as ever the Prussian officer: "Your report of my troops looking so smart, and of Papa being so pleased, gave me great pleasure." Alexandrina meets Elisa at the theatre; they exchange glances over certain remarks in the play; Elisa tells her about an ivy-leaf, and a good many other things. She is sent out riding, and, according to Caroline von Rochow, tears through the Tiergarten *au grand galop*, "probably to show the world her attitude." She is upset when William stays away from Alexandrina's wedding. But his good sense carries the day: "I saw clearly what a figure I should cut in the chapel, appearing as a penitent, and shaken by the most violent emotion. I realized how inconsistent my dejected frame of mind would be with the brilliantly lighted rooms, and the disturbing effect my melancholy looks would have on so much gaiety; in short, my absence will be much less upsetting than my presence would have been, feeling as I do now."

In May he is at Düsseldorf and Coblentz. The King refuses his request to be allowed to pay the Radziwills a visit in Silesia; he is to go straight to Berlin before going to take the waters at Teplitz for rheumatism. He arrives in June for a fortnight's stay. The King agrees to an appeal against the verdict on the question of equal rank. The Prince sees Elisa almost daily at festivities which he is commanded by his father to attend. She lets a ring drop, which he picks up. The ring is inscribed: "Ever true." "They take leave of one another on the evening of June 28th, in the darkness of the Radziwill garden. He tells her that, in case of their not being united, she must not renounce happiness with another. "So we sat on", Elisa writes to Lulu, "till past midnight, and still in the garden. We could talk there without constraint or notice, as a brother talks to his sister. But it was much nicer! He threw some light on his behaviour in Silesia, which I asked him to explain, and spoke so nicely, so charmingly, with such absolutely unselfish love, that I could not contain myself, and the tears poured down my cheeks. I did not even try to conceal how much I was touched by what he said, and I showed him all that I felt. This conversation, and our having met again, has been a very good thing, my dear Luluse. He has become far more to me in this short time, and I am firmly resolved to be true to him, in spite of storms. He was able to have a quiet talk with me, and heard from me personally what he only knew from Mamma's assurances. So we parted with many tears and much grief, yet not without a little spark of hope."

The Radziwills spend this summer at Ruhberg, near Schmiedeberg, in a small country house that they eventually purchase. Prince William has told them of this property, where he and the Crown Prince had stayed with Prince Biron in 1818, and his dream is to make a home for himself and Elisa in the Schmiedeberger valley some day. She recovers in this scenery, facing "these mountain ranges, amidst ancient ruins and rocks and grottos, in the shade of the beautiful pine-woods". In the evening they assemble round the astral lamps in a Chinese drawing-room; there is singing to the accompaniment of the guitar, and the peasant children stare in at the windows. William returned to Berlin from Teplitz at the beginning of August. The

second opinion as to equality of rank, drawn up by Savigny, with kind assistance from Count Anton Stolberg, is encouraging. The Prince feels like "a new man". After the September manœuvres he goes to Switzerland, and to the Congress at Verona, where his father has already arrived.

Elisa, who is at Posen again with her parents, is anxious and uneasy at times, and celebrates her birthday, the 28th of October, by sobbing. Then the Berlin post brings a letter from William, from Neuchâtel and Milan. Of this Princess Louise says: "He gives many and very interesting details of his journey via Geneva, Lausanne, Chamounix, the road over the Simplon, with which William is particularly delighted. They celebrated Butt's birthday on the Borromean Islands (Butt being the Crown Prince)." And writing later: "I have just received a long letter of the 21st from William, who is at Verona. The Tsar Alexander came to see him. He spoke with great kindness and sympathy about his affairs, which he had discussed with the King, who told him in reply that there was fresh hope. William writes in great agitation about this: is in a seventh heaven of delight, but at the same time anxious. Please write this to Count Anton. I must close my letter in haste, and am so affected by the one from William and also anxious, lest Elisa should be too hopeful."

On the 14th of November Elisa had to be put to bed, half unconscious. "The blood goes too much to her head and heart, and this affects her nerves. Another cause is a letter from Prince William, very kind and affectionate, but it spoke of conferences that are to begin again when they return to Berlin, and although William adds, 'I have no fears', the remembrance of the discussions in the winter, and their renewal, is very painful to Elisa." Absorbed in her "grief", the girl herself pours out her heart to Lulu, until a "very cheerful" letter from Naples "drives all the clouds away".

This time the Radziwills decide to forgo the season in Berlin, on account of the uncertainty as to the issue. "Elisa herself", the mother explains, "cannot wish to meet poor William again under these conditions, still less to be the means of taking him away from his family a second time." The Prince is at "delight-

ful" Naples till the middle of December; he writes to his sister: "We have been to a good many parties here, and have also had some dancing; there are plenty of pretty and attractive young ladies to be met in Society, who are also very agreeable." After that they return via Rome, Milan, Rovereto, Innsbruck, Salzburg, Linz, Prague, and Dresden, to Berlin, where William carries on fresh negotiations, relying on the interest of the Tsar, the champion of monarchism. But the commission appointed by the Privy Council does not meet until June of this year (1823). "Herr von Savigny", Varnhagen notes, "read out his favourable opinion. . . . Wittgenstein is said to be quite opposed to the marriage, because he hates the Radziwill House." Count Bernstorff, the Foreign Minister, is in favour of equality of rank being defined by a Prussian family-law; the next question is whether a Prince of legally recognized Royal descent would adopt the Princess. In July Radziwill is in St. Petersburg; Prince William is there from September till the middle of November, with Elisa's brother. On the 29th of November the Berlin Court celebrates the Crown Prince's wedding.

When Christmas comes, William makes an urgent appeal to his father. Writing about it to Natzmer, on the 22nd of February 1824, he says: "The King, whom I had previously understood as wishing to see the obstacles in the way of my happiness removed, in order that he might give his consent, spoke in such a way, at a very stormy interview with me two months ago, that I saw all my hopes vanishing. I was placed in a terrible position, from which I saw no means of escape except by acting on the advice of the Crown Prince and the Prince of Orange, and writing to the King that after that interview, from which I gathered what he felt and wished, I had no further hope, and I must therefore ask whether he would not finally pronounce what I recognized as his decision. Princess Louise, to whom I wrote, telling her how hopeless my position was, also wrote to the King, begging for a decision. But even these steps did not lead to the desired result, for it is now three weeks since those letters reached the King, who took them in very good part, but still hesitates to pronounce a decision! He still wants to ask about this and that—in short, nothing but delay; no consideration is

given to the terrible painfulness of my hopeless position. It is almost unendurable."

Elisa is gradually informed of the "sad details" by her mother: 'I only told her in a general way how everything is approaching a decision, and one that will be unfavourable. She is good and resigned to the will of God. But she is not as utterly hopeless as I am. She has grown very thin during the last week, otherwise she is the same as usual." Louise does not believe that the King will refuse point-blank, but thinks he will word his consent in such a way as to "wound his son's ambition, pride, and feelings, to the quick".

In the spring Frederick makes a concession to the Radziwills, against his inclination. The Royal Family are to pay them a visit in Silesia, at Fischbach and Ruhberg. This does not take place, however, till September, when the army manœuvres are going on. The Grand Duke Nicholas and Charlotte are the first to arrive; the Berlin Royalties follow via Breslau. Prince William is the only absentee, and has to stay there and at Liegnitz. "My knees trembled a little", Elisa writes to her friend, "after greeting his father in the corridor, when the carriage drove up to the door. . . . I came forward; he shook hands with me, and embraced me as usual. His equanimity and cheerfulness helped me and Mamma wonderfully. He talked for half an hour about Silesia, which he liked very much, about Berlin and the improvements that have been made there, about Dobberan, etc., and then said good-bye. But his glance often seemed to rest on me inquiringly, and it was not my imagination; several people remarked it afterwards at Fischbach, and our eyes often met at dinner and supper." She wears a simple white crêpe dress striped with gold, short sleeves, and nothing in her hair; she is quite pale with excitement. Later on she sings, accompanied on the guitar by Papa. Describing the King's farewell, she says: "He kissed me and pressed my hand; withdrawing his quickly, turned and left the room. The tears I had so long held back then flowed." Blanchefleur, as Charlotte is called, weeps with Elisa. It is a starlit night. The mountains stand out phantom-like in the moonlight.

On the 5th of November Frederick William III sends an

autograph letter to the Tsar by Nicholas; he asks him to adopt the Princess Radziwill and thus facilitate her marriage to his son. Shortly before Christmas Nicholas returns; the Tsar, thinking of the Grand Duke Constantine's morganatic marriage to a Polish Countess, refuses. The adoption of the Princess by Louis Ferdinand and Louise's younger brother, Prince Augustus of Prussia, is now considered. He is unmarried and at loggerheads with his sister over a disputed inheritance. The Radziwills are prepared to make the sacrifice involved in agreeing to this proposal, which is a slight to their own rank. William is allowed to come to them and Elisa at Posen in February 1825, where he stays with General von Roeder, as Helen, the daughter-in-law, is taken ill with scarlet fever. "No pen", he says, "can describe what I felt during those three days at Posen. These private conversations with a being one has so long loved secretly but so sincerely and wholeheartedly, from whom one has been so sadly and sorrowfully parted for three whole years; to be suddenly thus united, with the goal in sight, mutual trust and confidence increasing every hour, and learning to know one another afresh—one must have experienced moments such as these to understand and imagine them." Only two years before his death he remembered them and said: "Those were happy days; we looked upon ourselves quite as an engaged couple."

And Elisa gives Lulu an account of the happiness she felt, for her part. "Mamma was the first to hear that he was coming—that very evening. It was as though an iron hand clutched my heart, tightened its grasp, and then let go, for I felt as though it would burst." The great moment when the carriage rolls into the courtyard of the Governor's Palace is thus described: "I followed Mamma into the lower rooms, which had been prepared for the Prince. We stood there for a few minutes and waited, in an indescribable state of mind. Then Papa brought him in, having already met him at Pinne. I heard his footstep, before he came in, but not his voice. He flew to Mamma, and then shook hands with me. We were trembling violently, but I don't think we cried. We embraced one another, just as of old. The first words he was able to utter were: 'After five years of probation!'

Your friend was quite dumb, my dear, and was only able to speak again after a good cry in the next room."

It was only the mother who still tormented herself with imaginary fears; such as whether the adoption question might not be a pretext for a rupture. She is seized with fear in the night, and reflects: "How hardly Elisa will be judged in Berlin by these Court people, how they will criticize her, and think everything she says and does wrong; how much this will upset William himself. He attaches great importance to elegance and agreeableness of a kind that Elisa does not possess. Elisa may also have changed, and may no longer come up to the ideal which would perhaps have been formed and embellished in the course of three years' absence. Besides, Elisa is not well, she has a bad foot, is not the least *en beauté*." On the 13th of February William is ready to say good-bye. He hurries up a couple of steps to Elisa's room, hits his head against the low framework of the door, and hurts himself badly. He is attended to by "a dear hand", which he thinks very romantic, but in spite of this he goes back to Berlin, in order not to rouse suspicion. He has concussion of the brain, which endangers his life.

Elisa has also to take to bed; she has a swelling on her neck, which is cured by the application of leeches. "Elisa's nerves were so affected", her mother relates, "that she thought she was very ill, and said good-bye to life in floods of tears. She feels so much better now, and can lie so quietly and happily in bed. God grant that we may have good news of dear William to-morrow." Both have quite recovered in March, and the betrothed Princess is blissfully happy.

In the meantime, on receipt of a letter from William full of "rapturous effusions", Alexandrina, wisely warning him, remarks: "I must tell you that I think the adoption by Prince Augustus dreadful, and that I cannot anticipate happiness coming of anything in which that man has a hand—some better means must be found. . . . Who can have worked this so secretly; no good can come of underhand dealings." Elisa has no idea of this uneasiness. "My life is now one of longing; I build castles in the air, and am happy in the knowledge that those I build have a firm foundation." She dreams of going in a boat with William

to the Pfaueninsel, which she will transform into an Arcadia. "I think we were already married, for William addressed me as 'Thou', and took the liberties of a married man. He hurried me, when we landed on the island, so that I should not be late for dinner, and praised me very condescendingly when I actually appeared. But at dinner I made a mistake; I don't know how it came about. I think there were a good many strangers there, I had to give the signal to adjourn, but forgot it, and we sat on too long. The King called me into a corner and took me rather to task, on which I behaved perfectly. I did not cry, was not alarmed, kissed his hand, promised to do better another time, and all was well. William was beside himself with joy over my self-possession."

In June William goes to Teplitz instead of to Warmbrunn, which the King had first given him permission to do and then forbidden on account of its being near Ruhberg: he is still to avoid the Radziwills. The Prince is absolutely exasperated by the continued delay on false pretexts, and discusses it in a letter to Natzmer. "What do you say to the way in which my affair drags on? Hardly have I recovered when Wittgenstein sends me a memorandum which smooths over and settles everything, but at the same time he points out fresh objections to the memorandum! I thought I should go mad. He has had this adoption idea in mind for five years, finally he carries it out, and when all is in order, he allows difficulties to be made in the way of his own plan, one which he has been considering as House Minister for the last five years! Could anything be more unworthy? Ought I, ought Princess Louise and Elisa, and even the King, to be thus at the mercy of intrigues and cabals? He felt this too, and ostensibly backed out of the business when he entrusted everything to Müffling, remaining, however, behind the scenes. Müffling was formerly an implacable enemy. Since going thoroughly into it all, his views have changed; he is now absolutely impartial, and has rearranged everything. As he has not proved the opponent that was expected, it is not likely that anything will come of his proposals. Put yourself in my place, and think what patience I must exercise. If I did not know that this alone can help me, I should have knocked down one of the precious fellows long ago."

In August Elisa receives a "very dear, kind letter" from William, written from Paretz, and, reflecting on the time that must elapse before the winter, she writes: "Would to God that we could then be united. A great dash is all that I need put here." She has another dream; she is in the Blue Room, waiting to receive the Court, who are coming to lunch, also the Crown Princess and her ladies-in-waiting, whom she is very anxious to see, dressed in grey silk. "I must admit that the Brockhausen girl was the best-looking of them." This refers to Emilie von Brockhausen, daughter of the Minister, who is thus mentioned by Caroline von Rochow: "In the meantime Prince William paid attention to several young girls in Society, particularly Elisa Radziwill's friends, of whom there were many. He began by taking them into his confidence about his affection for her, but combined so many attentions with this that they often had to recognize that he was not altogether unmoved by their charms, and he perhaps appealed more to their hearts than he had intended. This was most marked in the friendship that existed for years between him and the pretty, fair-haired Emilie von Brockhausen, for, on her side, it developed into an intense and uncontrolled passion for him. Encouraged by a father of similar disposition, the possibility of a morganatic marriage may well have occurred to them both." This last, however, only applies to the period between the severance from Elisa and the Weimar engagement.

In September William is at Laeken, the Royal residence near Brussels, with his father. Then in Thüringen and Meiningen, and till the 3rd of October at Weimar. It is said that Princess Marie, the elder daughter of the Hereditary Prince Charles Frederick and the Grand Duchess Maria Pavlovna, has been chosen for him; and this is corroborated by Princess Louise: "Prince W. also writes a good deal from Weimar that is strange. Neither the Grand Duchess nor the Emperor's mother seems to have any belief in the Prince's hopes. God will surely do what is best for Elisa and the Prince. I am so often disgusted with the Berlin world that I tell myself I no longer belong to it. Who knows whether William may not also feel a good deal of doubt as to his future? The Weimar Princess is probably far prettier and

more cultivated than Elisa. In comparing them she will seem to have far more tact and *savoir-faire*, and William thinks a great deal of that." Lulu, a few weeks later Frau von Stosch, puts a letter into the wrong envelope, and in this way a shadow is cast over Elisa's happiness: "Lulu wrote to Elisa, but put her letters into the wrong envelopes, and sent her the one intended for Caroline of Hesse, in which she said it was generally believed that there was no further hope for P.W. and she herself had lost all heart. You can imagine the effect of this on poor Elisa. She took it quietly and calmly, as usual; her brother Ferdinand comforted her by telling her that he knew how many unreliable reports were circulated at the Kleists' house. But as I could not sleep all night, I heard her crying quietly in bed." After that she is subdued and resigned.

In November her mother says: "William writes that he has heard nothing for the last fortnight and can get no answer. He thinks that for the last two years storm-clouds have always gathered just at this time, and then in February they were dispersed by a ray of light. I shall wait till that happens." Then, on the 1st of December, the Tsar dies, and William is sent, in January 1826, to attend his funeral in St. Petersburg. He passes through Posen on his way there, and sees his sweetheart again; she writes to Lulu Stosch: "Yesterday my William was here. I spent the sweetest hours with him, and to-day there are already miles between us. He left again at midnight, in really dreadfully cold weather, but accompanied by our prayers and under the protection of the Almighty. He took leave of us again at the door, and then got into the carriage with General Thile. I had only thrown my black fur cloak hastily over my thin black dress, and was in thin satin shoes, so I was simply perished with cold. What if this were to be the death of you? I thought. Then William's carriage drove off, and rolled through the gate. My heart sank, and in my agitation I called out to him in spirit: 'Take my life.' Is not this the fancy of an overwrought brain? And yet so real and natural, for I was in a state of excitement and shivering with cold. And now I am well and warm, and nothing is left of that moment except the feeling with which I saw his carriage disappear."

On the 24th of April William returned to Berlin, without passing through Posen. On the 28th of June the Radziwills are notified of the final decision that the marriage cannot take place. In the middle of July a note in Varnhagen's diary: "The marriage of two of our Princes, William and Charles, with two Princesses of Weimar, granddaughters of the Emperor's mother, seems to be progressing. Prince Charles's marriage was already as good as settled, and this was the origin of the increased opposition from St. Petersburg to the marriage of the elder brother, Prince William, to Princess Elisa Radziwill." On the 20th of July a sorrowful letter from Louise, written at Posen: "We are going to Antonin the day after to-morrow. On the 24th, when Elisa knows all, F. goes to Moscow. Elisa is very reproachful. In reply to some remarks of this kind, I said: 'It is true that I have a great deal to tell you, my child, but I think it better to wait till we are at Antonin, where we shall be undisturbed.' 'Much better', she replied, in a broken voice. So it will be at Antonin." The truth prostrates her, but she submits. "Like someone dying", Marie von Kleist reports; "like someone dying, who is hastening to her better home, at peace with the world, and only anxious to assuage her parents' grief." And Elisa herself finds comfort in the affection lavished on her. "My Lulu. What a mother God gave me, and what a father! It is happiness to be able to shed tears on such a breast, happiness to have such brothers and sisters as mine, happiness to have had such a friend." She sits by the clear blue water facing the silent forests, deep in thought.

William has written to her. And he writes to Natzmer from Teplitz: "There is now a blank in my life, which is terribly hard to bear, in spite of the efforts I make to fight against the pain. The contrast is too great between what I felt before, in thinking of the object I have lost, and what I feel now that there is no further hope. I was petrified when I read the final decision. My stay here, in such contrast with my frame of mind, has done me good, however, on account of the distractions, trying as every moment has been. I am dreading being alone in my room in Berlin, and yet I long to be at home." The King, he says, has been very kind to him; and, sorely against the grain, he pledges himself to obey his father. "Read my heart to find in it the thanks

I am unable to express for the innumerable proofs of favour, affection, and forbearance you have given me in the course of these five troubled years, but, above all, for yesterday's letter, which has touched me more than I can say." He also thanks him for his "recognition of the worthiness of the object" on whom he, the son, had bestowed his affections. But he is very low-spirited at Potsdam, pulls himself together with difficulty, and the "poor fellow" goes to have a talk with Princess Marianne.

But surely he is lacking in grit? He goes to Weimar as early as in November, and Princess Radziwill blames him for this: "It must have been sad for poor William to be there, in his position, but why did he go there?" But still she makes excuses for him; his spirit had been broken. Then he half hints at the projected marriage; and not only Elisa's mother, but she herself, is indignant. "By the last post", she writes to Blanche von Wildenbruch, "Mamma received a long letter from William, from Weimar and Berlin. We saw plainly that he was sent there to improve his acquaintance with the second sister, and he liked her immensely. I had to allow, with sorrow, to Lulu, that it would be a good thing if he were to forget me and choose her; but it seemed to me hard that it should be the daughter of those whom we have to thank for our severance, and feeling this I said: 'Is that so?—then I will accept the next best proposal of marriage.'" The Princess calls the Prince's behaviour indelicate, and then again his letters kind and charming.

In May 1827 he asks about a meeting with Elisa in Silesia; it is refused, to spare the Princess's feelings. But he goes to Ruhberg in June, and is received by Marianne instead of the Radziwills: "It made him very sad; he had tears in his eyes all the time. We spent a long time in Elisa's pretty little sky-blue room. I found an everlasting flower still there, and gave it to him. He picked four pinks in the little garden in front of the house, of which I send you two. When he drove away, it seemed to me just as though you, dear one, ought to be standing at the door, to call out a last good-bye." All the same, both mother and daughter are alienated from him. In a letter of August 13th Elisa assures Lulu that her love for William "was never ardent, never. People often noticed that, and I reproached myself so

much, and was ashamed of it. It seems to me that he cared far more for me, and yet our love was more sacred to me than to him." His love affair with Emilie von Brockhausen also hurt her. In spite of that, he came to Antonin for the last time on the 2nd of June 1829. He sees Elisa for the last time, and this ending gives her some comfort. "She is now convinced", the Princess says, "that he acted from a sense of duty in fulfilling the King's wish, and that in spite of the indiscretions with B. he did not love the latter as he loved and, she believes, still loves her, and she is on the best of terms with him again."

The young Princess Radziwill is now twenty-six. There had been several deaths in her family since 1827, which were a great grief to her (first the death of her brother Ferdinand, from consumption), and, under the influence of her friend Count Stolberg, she gradually becomes a Pietist. But she cannot withdraw from Society at Posen, and consequently lives at variance with her religion. Describing a masked ball at Government House, Marie von Kleist, her "little mother", says: "Elisa looked lovely, quite her old self. Everyone said they had never seen her look so pretty, and she really was like an angel. Her nose is very seldom red now, her complexion has improved, and she was beautifully dressed. She had a gentle, sad expression that would have made her very interesting to all the great people. Her whole appearance suggested a poem, a romance, poor, dear child." That was in February 1827. In October of the same year Elisa had written to Lulu: "The near future seems to me a confused and yet gay whirl, and I look beyond it to happiness in submission to the will of God. I intend to say nothing, and give up my own will entirely. Do put yourself absolutely into His hands too, dearest Lulu. When we are still set in the midst of so much sorrow and anxiety, we shut our eyes and think only of God—how He will guide us through the way that lies dark and terribly long and fearsome before us." She has an attack of colic. Albertine von Massenbach, a cousin of Lulu's, leads her to reflect seriously on sin and the Saviour.

In June 1829, about four weeks after William's visit, Maria Pavlovna comes to Antonin, and Elisa speaks with malicious hatred of the woman who injured her: "She is lucky to have

escaped a kicking." In September she faints on the road between Warmbrunn and Stonsdorf. In January 1830 she finds a piece of a pane of glass on which Lulu had scratched: "We are really very happy together"; and she is touched by the remembrance: "I was moved to tears. Seven years have gone by since then. I am often surprised to think how quickly those years have passed. I am outwardly poorer, but I am the richer for many happy experiences, and must, in reality, feel grateful." There were two repetitions of the "Fischbach family gathering" in Silesia, when the Hohenzollerns—the King, the Crown Prince, and the Tsarina—came.

Elisa is ordered by her doctor to drink whey. In October she returns to Berlin and Prussian Court Society: "At first I felt rather sad and depressed, and also the other day, when there was dancing at the Castle after the *tableaux*, I had a passing sense of mortification. There is indeed often reason to feel mortified, but I ought to be past that, and God, you know, helps me to get over it." She has discovered that love can grow cold: "Since then we have seen why it was so, and now I should like to thank God daily on my knees for it. But the sad part of it is that one should think thus of what had seemed to one eternal."

In July 1831, after the death of Elisa's brother Wladislaw, the Radziwills left Berlin and went to Teplitz for a year, to avoid the cholera. Here the two still remaining sons, William and Boguslaw, became engaged to the daughters of Prince Clary-Aldringen, and Prince Frederick Schwarzenberg, a son of the Field-Marshal, paid court to Elisa. He had served in the Austrian army till 1830, then in Algiers, later on with the Spanish Carlists, and as a mercenary in the Swiss *Sonderbund* war. As the elder son, he had made over his birthright to his younger brother. He was a rebel against the times, "an amiable anachronism, a mediæval knight-errant, amongst whose souvenirs are to be found bullets cut out of the bodies of wounded comrades, a pen that had belonged to Goethe, a wreath of roses from Rome, a lady's Turkish slipper, a Venetian veil, an Algerian fan, and locks of hair of all colours, brown and blond, black and red, all mixed up together". This Bohemian Childe Harold singled out Elisa Radziwill for his attentions. "Amongst a hundred

women", he writes, "I should have picked her out, not as the most beautiful—I was not thinking of that—but instinctively. Her proximity had the same effect on me as a breath of sea air in the African deserts. . . . To be an angel she only needs wings, and Providence has shown wisdom in not providing her with them, lest she should fly from this sordid life of toil and suffering to her heavenly home."

In January 1832 Prince Schwarzenberg writes to the Princess to ask for Elisa's hand, and already wavering irresolutely: "Princess Elisa is an angel, but I question whether it may not be a sort of punishment for angels to have to walk through the flames to which the outcasts are condemned. . . . To make another happy, one must be happy oneself. I am not, and cannot be happy." The happiness dawning for her frightens Elisa. In a gushing letter to Lulu she says: "Oh, my dear, I never thought I could still love like this. I knew, of course, that I was capable of it, but I never thought that the ideal of which I had dreamed could be thus realized. This is not a passing feeling, not imagination. Perhaps you will be shocked and think: Elisa is just like all the others, after all. But this time it is the real thing!"

Fritz Schwarzenberg's pecuniary position is very bad, on account of his having made over his birthright to his brother. The decision again rests with the Tsar and Tsarina, as the Emperor has advanced a large sum of money to the Field-Marshal. In the meantime Elisa admires her hero; his tongue is like a knife, he is a profound thinker: "he is neither stupid nor mean, he once said of himself." In March he goes to Weimar, and immediately falls violently in love with the wife of the French Minister, Countess Vandreuil, who teaches the audacious cavalier how virtue may triumph. The wayward lover apologizes for his audacity in impassioned language, promises to be only a humble but faithful admirer in future, and follows the Vandreuils to Carlsbad in July.

The cholera drives the Radziwills away from Teplitz. After that they are at Ruhberg. The "waves of passion" in Elisa's heart are subdued, through her prayer to be delivered from all that is "morbid and corrupt". She admits that her unfaithful lover has "too much imagination and is rather coarse", but is not angry

with him. Shivering a little, she comes to the conclusion that "the older we grow, the more sceptical we become". That summer, while still at Ruhberg, she breaks a blood-vessel. In January 1833 she returns to Berlin. She dances at balls. Her voice fails. On the 20th of March there is a dinner—a dinner at Prince William's. Laughing makes her cough. She breaks a blood-vessel for the second time. "She begs to be taken home", Countess Bernstorff relates; "the physicians, who have quickly appeared on the scene, protest, and say that the journey will kill her. She hears them, and all the more persistently implores her family not to let her die there. 'Not here', she cries; 'don't let me die here.'" At home she breaks another blood-vessel. She recovers a little. On Easter Day her father dies of influenza. She is on the floor below, and his death is concealed from her until May.

In January 1834 she becomes unconscious, delirium sets in. On the 28th of February the mother gives a more satisfactory report: "She is cheerful, well, and grateful at heart to God who, as she puts it, has delivered her from what seemed purgatory and hell." In May she gains weight; takes pains about her appearance, wears high silk dresses, blouses with a tippet, white tulle ruffles and a necktie, little bonnets with coloured bows, the hair smoothly parted beneath. The Princess pastes painted flowers, cut out by Elisa, on to gilt trays, which are varnished. She draws, goes out walking, and sits under the big chestnut-tree in the garden, in fine weather. As the July heat disagrees with her, her mother takes her to Freienwalde, where she had danced with the Prince fourteen years before. She dies on the 27th of September. The Royal Family are not informed of her death until the morning of the 29th, as the festivities in honour of the Empress Charlotte's entry into Berlin could not be interrupted. Prince and Princess William stand with the others beside her coffin, which is covered with flowers. The Prince's aspect is "heart-rending".

AUGUSTA

AUGUSTA SPENT HER CHILDHOOD in what Bismarck, who hated her, contemptuously called "Weimar's Elysian fields". She was born in 1811, on the 30th of September, a year before Napoleon's defeated army marched through. She was brought up with her sister Marie. The Princesses led a simple life. Goethe was a constant visitor. On Augusta's ninth birthday he presents her with a poem, composed in honour of the occasion. Another time he watches an eclipse of the sun from the Princesses' garden, with them and the Grand Duke. Princess Augusta is described as being always very good.

Lotte von Schiller paid her a tribute even in her cradle. "The child lies there, looking so dignified and sensible, that it would not be surprising if she were born to wear a crown." When she is two years old the national poet's wife describes her as having "a strong will", and being "very tenacious and firm; she keeps tight hold of anything she appropriates." In June 1812, Lotte von Schiller writes: "I was at the Belvedere yesterday; I enjoyed myself very much there: the Princesses are as happy as the angels, and live with Nature, the birds and flowers, and Princess Marie has a lamb that follows her like a dog." In April 1814 she remarks: "Princess Augusta will be better-looking than her sister; she is the most like the Grand Duchess, and seems likely to have a very good figure. Princess Marie is really much more good-natured than the sister, and puts up with a good deal from her." Again: "Princess Augusta is like a child in an English engraving, so fresh and childlike and sweet." That would be a denial of the despotic nature just spoken of. Von Humboldt also comments on the fifteen-year-old girl's character at that age: "Princess Augusta is said to have already developed considerable strength and independence of character, although she is hardly more than a child. Her eyes sparkle with vitality and intellect."

Maria Pavlovna and her daughters spend almost a year in St. Petersburg from December 1824. Hand, who accompanies them, describes the Princesses' visit to their uncle, the Tsar Alexander, as follows: "First a small *salon*, then sitting- and bedrooms. Furniture of white poplar wood, upholstered in green,

which has an excellent effect. Exquisite glass vases, dainty curtains, magnificent ceilings, oil paintings, copies of the best masters. The toilet arrangements are perfect. Not the smallest thing is lacking. The linen is kept in a large covered basket, ornamented with the most beautiful artificial flowers. In one room the dressing-table and chair are made entirely of steel. The Empress has given the two granddaughters pretty belts and the mother some shawls. The first and second days were occupied with visits of ceremony; on the third they drove to the Emperor's country house at Tsarkoë Selo." The Court then returns to St. Petersburg. The Tsar is saddened by the death of his illegitimate daughter, a Narischkin. The Princesses are home-sick. "May Heaven preserve these good children", Hand remarks, "who really behave very well, although they are atrociously flattered, being told, for instance, that in a play in which they took part they were like heavenly Graces and that their singing was divine." There is a catastrophe, as the result of a storm and high tide. The Neva overflows its banks and floods all the cellars and ground floors in the town. Two officers and two sentries are drowned. "The sight from the Hermitage, where Maria Pavlovna and her children were staying, was frightful." She is hardly back in Weimar when she hears of the death of Alexander; the Grand Duchess has fainting-fits and symptoms of asthma.

In 1825 a Russian newspaper, printed in Warsaw under the censorship of the Grand Duke Constantine, mentions Prince William as Marie's fiancé. "I am sorry for William", says Louise Radziwill, "for it makes him appear in a very equivocal light in the eyes of those who are not as well acquainted with him as we are." Meanwhile Marie has already met Prince William at Frankfurt-on-the-Oder and likes him. Frederick William III knows of Charles's wish to marry her. "At last", he says to Wittgenstein, "an alliance without any unpleasantness, with a House between which and ours such a close friendship exists and with grandparents I like and value so much." But her parents are looking for a husband for Marie, who will be a reigning Prince; and will not agree to her marrying Charles, unless William, who is attached to the Radziwill Princess, renounces his succession to the throne. The King of Prussia shows the Grand Duke

plainly how much this criticism of his family annoys him. In July 1826, as William is now free, the question of a double marriage between the brothers and sisters is considered. In November and December the Crown Prince, Prince William, and Charles are all on a visit to Weimar. Charles becomes engaged to Marie. William writes at that time to Natzmer: "I spent a very pleasant time at Weimar, although there were moments which were necessarily most painful to me, when I saw a happiness coming about such as I had lost only a few months ago. The command to come here is a proof that life will not be made easy for me."

Still he enjoys the sport provided: "seven hares, thirty pheasants, and two stags are my bag after seven shooting expeditions." And whilst he is still dwelling on the consequences of the painful conflict, Gagern writes to von Stein: "Prince William is as fine a figure of a man as could be seen anywhere, the most imposing of them all, and at the same time simple and courteous, gay and gallant, but always dignified. Our Princess Augusta seemed to attract him very much. The Berlin people are already dreaming of a second engagement." He does not come to any decision; and also dislikes the thought of the painful position in which her lower rank would place the elder sister, Marie. He goes off again, in the summer of 1827, with his father's consent, to inspect possible brides. He is offered Princess Louise of Baden, who is rejected on account of her mother, Stéphanie Beauharnais, the deaf Pauline of Würtemberg, and Queen Theresa of Bavaria introduces her niece Princess Cecilia of Sweden to him, daughter of the mad ex-King Gustavus Adolphus IV. The latter is rejected by Frederick William III. The Tsar's mother, Maria Fedorovna, acts as intermediary between him and Maria Pavlovna, who still objects. The official courtship is to be postponed till the autumn—this being the autumn of 1828. The Prince is first impatient: "They are queer people"; and then indignant: "I am almost thirty-two, and don't care to be trifled with too long at this time of day." He admits to his sister Alexandrina that "one can only really love once, but Augusta cannot and ought not to be denied respect and affection, and that has been my opinion from the first." To the Tsar's mother he writes how unjust it is to think

him capable of fickleness: "To pay any attention to such ideas would be to doubt my having any religious or moral principles." In August he hears a Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt mentioned as a rival favoured by the present Grand Duchess. And now he courts the Princess formally. "I am perhaps very bold", he says in a letter to the Grand Duke Charles Frederick, "in taking this very important step, as I am not quite sure what the Princess's feelings are towards me. But I may build on the kindness and friendship with which she has always treated me, and which made her so dear to me—and surely also on what my heart tells me."

In October William is at Weimar, and is accepted in the presence of her family. He now believes in more than sympathy himself. "I am happy", he writes to his father, "and happier than I had expected, for I see how Augusta loves me. Knowing, as I do now, how charming and sensible she is, and how deep and intense her feelings are, I can look forward to an untroubled future." And on the same day: "I have learned to know Augusta so well latterly, and see that I have never for a moment been deceived in her, and that I judged her rightly from the first. I praise God who in His mercy grants me this happiness after so much turmoil, and can only implore Him to keep me worthy of enjoying this good fortune and of making the Princess happy, which will be my sole endeavour from this time forward." He is also very grateful to her for saying that he must tell her all that there was between him and Elisa. The question arises of finding a house for the couple in Berlin. The Radziwills want to give up their house in the Wilhelmstrasse. William assures Princess Marianne that he could not possibly let his future wife live there. In January 1829 no dates have yet been fixed. William informs the Grand Duchess, in Prussian categorical fashion, that the betrothal must be on the 16th of February, Maria Pavlovna's birthday, the wedding in May; and that never will he or his father allow it to take place anywhere but in Berlin. That annoys Maria Pavlovna; she says that he has probably hardly quite recovered from an indisposition, and that the King surely will not wish to issue a command to a House just as sovereign as his own. The answer was given in a tone he had never heard

before, William tells his father in astonishment. And he begs Maria Pavlovna's pardon. It is she who now requires him to go to Antonini to see the Radziwills. He goes there via Warsaw, with Charlotte, the present Tsarina.

On the 6th of June the bridegroom arrives at Weimar, and the wedding procession which is to escort the happy pair to Potsdam by the old road, passing through Eckartsberga, Merseburg, and Wittenberg, forms up on Whit-Sunday, a wet day. Goethe, in bidding her farewell, wishes her happiness in the "far-distant and stirring" *milieu* to which she is being transported. The young girls in white who attended her come home, according to Frau von Willemer, one by one, wet through, dishevelled, and disheartened. He inspects the trousseau at the Castle: "A sight", he records in his diary, "that reminded one of the *Arabian Nights*." He also takes an interest in the wedding in Berlin: "Great Berlin rejoicings, in which we Weimar people have such an important share." He writes this to Zelter, to whom he also expresses his opinion of Augusta: "She combines womanly attributes so perfectly with those of a Princess that one is really lost in admiration, and has a feeling of respect mingled with affection for her." The association between her and her old friend lasts until his death.

On the 28th of August she writes him a letter of congratulation, and he replies in a long letter, thanking her for her gracious thought and expressing sympathy with the happiness she must feel. For Augusta had given birth to a son, Frederick William, on the 18th of October. She keeps up the Goethe tradition even in her Prussian *entourage*. "Everything", she assures the Chancellor Müller, "associated with the memory of such a man as Goethe is amongst the feelings that can only be felt; they cannot be described."

According to Caroline von Rochow, the young Princess William did not "make much effect" in Berlin; "her pretty figure is spoiled by her tendency to stoop; her voice is not musical; at the Court she made the most beautiful speeches about feelings to people she hardly knew." Emilie von Brockhausen takes her place at the marriage ceremony in the Castle "pale as death".

The Royal couple occupy the Tauentzien Palais, Unter den Linden 37, adjoining the Opera House, which William bought; he had it rebuilt by the architect Langhans. It is the home in which Augusta is to live for almost sixty years. They spend the first summer in the Marble Palace at Potsdam, the next in the New Palace. In the autumn of 1836 the Castle of Babelsberg is furnished for them. It is a two-storied building with a tower of considerable thickness. The Princess's apartments are on the ground-floor. A glass door leads through a pergola to the garden and the sheet of water. The Blue Room contains Augusta's writing-table. Next to the reception-room the library, with Gothic carving, in a niche a prayer and reading-desk. Augusta, who has been the mother of a daughter, Louise Marie Elizabeth, since 1838, has an intellectual circle. She has brought the poet Raupach from Weimar to Berlin, to recite to her and her husband, and her circle includes Alexander von Humboldt, Raumer, and Böckh. When her son, Frederick William, is thirteen years old, she appoints the Greek historian, Ernst Curtius, to be his tutor. She also has musical evenings, at which Meyerbeer appears.

Varnhagen says of her: "She asked for facts and opinions, expressed her views modestly and easily in most excellent German, speaking in a tone of mingled authority and courtesy." But the assurance to which he refers here becomes gradually more marked. "If you think", the Prince writes to Alexandrina, "that I am often dissatisfied with Augusta, because she is too childish, you are quite mistaken, for she is really inclined, on the contrary, to behave too little in accordance with her age, and might be more likely to irritate me in that way. Her mental faculties are so fully developed, and her judgment is so good, that she often enters into discussions which she carries on, it is true, with a perfect grasp of the subject, but which are really outside her sphere; this naturally gives her not only a feeling of self-confidence, which encourages her to seek such discussions, but also the appearance of a *femme d'esprit*, which is not desirable for her, as she has already always been credited with having more head than heart. That is, fortunately, not the case, as I can most truly assure you, but anyone who only hears her carrying on those discussions will think the reputation justified, and I dislike that." Again,

George von Bunsen says: "Lavish nature had denied her little; few had the same ease in reaching a conclusion—self-confidence, we call it—the same delightful, mercurial *gaieté de cœur*. . . . She is always equally on the alert, daily and hourly; every discussion, even of the most trivial or friendly nature, deals strictly logically with the subject laid down for debate beforehand. The exalted lady has probably hardly ever taken a walk without having some object in view which she regarded as one of the duties of her position, besides the duty of keeping in good health."

Curtius, who suffers as her subordinate, reluctantly admits that she recognizes shortcomings only too clearly; "but she lacks the discrimination which would enable her to recognize the limits of human capacity". She wants to be too clever. People in Society in Berlin laugh at her for so often quoting the opinions of authorities, as though they were her own. "Her Royal Highness had not remembered that the men she thought worthy of her conversation would naturally meet one another and that one of them would then, to his surprise, hear from the lips of the other what he himself had said to the Princess." In letter-writing she shows no sense of humour. She is no longer "womanly", as she was, for instance, in a correspondence with the French Countess La Roche Lambert, whom she consulted about the most becoming way of doing her hair. "You have not said definitely whether you are for or against curls (in moderation). I enclose a sketch from Herr von Ingenheim's books. Do you like this slightly waved erection better than curls? And what do you think of the pattern of material?" She is only less reserved, as Princess of Prussia, in her correspondence with old Batsch. "It is already very cold and wintry in the mountains", she writes to her from Schildau, near Hirschberg, in Silesia. "It was here that we stayed two months ago, at the beginning of the memorable journey which I now end at the same place. When I look back on those months, they seem like a dream. How much I have seen, heard, and undergone! I go home the richer for my experiences, and hope once more to counterbalance the many trials and burdens of daily life by prudent submission and modest self-reliance. Our stay at Teplitz was the crowning point of the whole journey, or rather of the wandering life we had led for two months, which

Winterhalter, Queen Augusta

made an indescribable impression on me." She also speaks more warmly to Rudolf von Zastrow, her boy's companion in his studies: "Life brings trials and temptations of all kinds; we must therefore ask God daily for strength to resist them and be true to our principles." And again: "What I ask is that you should always be a son to me, however much your circumstances may change. You will always have a friend and a mother in me. I also ask you always to be a friend and brother to my son. Unfortunately Princes rarely have true friends. He needs this, and you will be able to be of great use to him in many ways." Her voice soon fails when she is excited; her face becomes sickly-looking and expressionless, and her eyes unnaturally large.

She has political ambition. People hear that soon after her marriage she said she was giving a great deal of attention to serious matters, because a time might come when she would have to take things in hand. She propounds Liberal theories. Thus she writes to Major von Roon to persuade him to accept the post of military governor to young Prince Frederick William: "It is a question of bringing him up to be a good man, who will be capable of doing his duty in any circumstances, and must always earn the right to be respected and trusted, whatever God may ordain as regards the future and his personal position. As a man, let him show his superiority by devotion to duty and integrity; as Prince let him prove by his actions that prescriptive rights must be supported by personal merit." That bears the impress of October 1848; and she says that she considers Roon (who, as a Prussian Conservative, will decline the post) amongst the "friends of constitutional freedom": "You will remember having clearly seen the error of arbitrary procedure, and having spoken in favour of the principle of trying to prevent revolutions by timely reforms." Two years earlier she had been considering a dynastic-political marriage for the "noble scion of your ancient sovereign House", when she was in England and the Prussian Minister, von Bunsen, placed the portraits of Prince Frederick William and Princess Victoria on an engraving of Blücher and Wellington with the inscription *La belle Alliance* in such a manner that *La belle Alliance* was visible.

The French Minister, Bresson, said in the 'thirties that when

William came into power his wife would soon see that Prussia was given a Constitution. King Ernest Augustus of Hanover murmurs in 1848 that she is "a little Jacobin". When Frederick William IV refused to receive the Imperial Crown "by the grace of the people" in April 1849, the Princess implored the Frankfurt parliamentarians, according to one of them, "not to despair of the success of our mission, not to be too hasty in cutting short the endeavour to reach an understanding. Everything will yet come right—it must—the object is so splendid, so necessary." William informs her father that Augusta is in a state of "great agitation". In 1847 a difference of opinion arises between them. She wrote to him: "Some day—I trust not too late—you will be convinced of the truth and will forgive me, as I forgive you now for all that I have suffered."

During the March revolution, von Raumer, whose acquaintance she had made through the Society for the Promotion of Lectures on Literature, acclaimed her in a sonnet as a Cassandra crowned with thorns. She acknowledged the compliment in appropriately flowery language, comparing herself to a Cassandra baring her head submissively to the storm "which rages on till the dawn of day brings peace and the lonely strand is transformed into a verdant pasture". Three years later William again complains to her brother, the Hereditary Grand Duke Charles Alexander, of Augusta's spirit of opposition. What are people to think "when they hear Augusta express herself in absolute opposition to my views"? "I have had unfortunate scenes with her on that account." A year after that to Maria Pavlovna: "One can hardly mention the King any longer, or the Ministry, or the Chambers, without her frowning." She also gave lyrical expression to her political ambition in the days of Olmütz. "On the 2nd of November", she writes to William from Coblenz, "I stood on the Karthans hill at the decisive hour, and looked down on the beautiful cemetery where the festival of All Saints was being celebrated. The air was oppressive, as in summer, the whole valley hidden in mist; innumerable candles were burning in the open air upon every grave, and the headstones were adorned with flowers. A procession wended its way through the cemetery singing a psalm; nothing was visible where the fog lay but

the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein towering above it, and a ray of light had fallen on its summit from above which formed the background like a luminous star. I stood there in earnest and solemn contemplation. That was the decisive hour."

In 1850 it seemed as though she wished to give up politics. "I should like to turn my back on politics for ever", she complained; "I am weary and sick at heart, but we are in God's hands, and must leave everything to Him, otherwise only our bodies live, the soul is dead." But Queen Augusta is just as active at Coblenz as before, and Bismarck is her bitter enemy. His complaint is that she has influenced her husband in favour of the Western Powers. She has been attracted in that direction ever since the days of her youth at Weimar. "She is impressed by a self-conceited, voluble Frenchman, and until proof was given of the contrary Englishmen took for granted that they were to be treated with distinction in Germany." Until 1857 she is closely connected with the Liberal *Wochenblatt* Party. In the 'seventies she is in touch with Roman Catholicism. "A Catholic Bishop seemed to her better worth cultivating than a Superintendent-General," is the remark made by her enemy; "her residence in Coblenz set the seal on a certain good will towards the Catholic cause which had been peculiar to her in earlier days, and was shown, for instance, in the choice of her men-servants and male *entourage*. She acquired the habit of considering it her business to look after and represent the interests of the old land of episcopal rule and its clergy." Bismarck hints at offence having been given to Falk, the Minister of Education and Public Worship, and "insulting behaviour to his wife at Court". When Falk is being presented to the Crown Princess, Augusta steps rudely between them. She compensates for that by honouring the Polish Archbishop Ledochovski, the rebel and prisoner of Ostrovo, with her favour. "When the Government policy was Conservative", is Bismarck's scathing criticism of her proclivities, "Liberals were treated with distinction and Liberal aspirations encouraged in Her Royal Highness's domestic circle; when the Emperor's Government was carrying on the work of consolidating the Empire on Liberal lines, more inclination was shown to favour the Conservatives, and particularly the Catholic elements."

But her opposition was no less vexatious in matters of foreign policy. In June 1866, shortly before the war with Austria, she dined with King John of Saxony and drank his health in a glass of champagne. In 1870 she delayed the siege of Paris. "There is some intrigue going on", Bismarck writes to his wife, "hatched by women, archbishops, and intellectuals; well-known influences in high quarters are said to have a hand in it, in order to avoid any diminution of the praise and flattery of other countries." Bismarck even goes the length of calling the Empress's reader, Gérard, a spy, a French secret agent who had acted for the Ambassador, Gontaut-Biron. "Gérard", he says, "could not even keep his vanity within outward bounds. He liked to appear as a sample of the latest French fashion, so exaggerated as to attract attention in Berlin—a mistake which, however, did him no harm at the Palace. Interest in exotic, and particularly in Parisian types was stronger than the liking for simple taste." In 1881 her reader is another Frenchman, the consumptive, melancholy Jules Laforgue, who is not at all concerned with politics. "Lackeys, wax candles, wide white staircases, mirrors." Journey from Coblenz to Berlin with Count Nesselrode, the Empress's Master of the Ceremonies (one of her Catholic friends): "An excellent example to contemplate; nothing is so instructive as to sit opposite a man for a whole day in a railway carriage; I saw him sleeping . . ." Laforgue occupies rooms on the ground-floor in the Princess's palace: "Facing me the guard, with military music, mounted guns; then the University, the Royal Castle and the Museums; on my left the Opera House and the Empress's palace; on my right statues, nothing but statues." Augusta gives him the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, that he may read her the literary review: "When I came to *Mathematics as a Pastime*, she interrupted me, and said, smiling in her greenish paint: 'How can one pass the time with mathematics?' " At Baden-Baden she gives him a present of a thermometer in the form of a key.

At seventy she is a follower of Herder as opposed to Stöcker's anti-Semitism. "The way in which people rave against the Jews at public meetings and in some of the newspapers", she writes to Frau von Bonin in 1882, "is not at all to my taste. Considering

the hatred some of the leaders stir up, the agitation is absolutely unchristian." Nevertheless, in conversation with Liberal deputies like Lette, towards 1863, she speaks with indignation of the "libertine" Lassalle. A Socialist must be pure-minded. Lassalle's false doctrine is based on a fatal argument. "Providence has ordained that riches should be unevenly distributed, just as Nature all round us produces stunted alongside of superb growths. Her own Socialistic (instead of social) ideals were based on humanism such as Herder's, towards which Christianity had graciously inclined her in the days of her youth. Her ideal would be to convince those who were too rich, that it was their duty to part with their superfluous wealth voluntarily. She had never appealed to the State for help for any of her undertakings." These undertakings are in the nature of patronage: her interest in the work done by the Swiss Henri Dunant, author of *Souvenirs de Solferino*, with its descriptions of the horrors on the battlefields of the Crimea, the Geneva Convention, and the Red Cross. Every time Augusta goes to England she pays a visit to Miss Florence Nightingale, who used to go round the wards of the military hospitals at night carrying a little lamp, and who has been confined to a bed of sickness for years. Has she a premonition of what she herself is to endure?

The marriage is not a Philemon and Baucis idyll; the differences are too great. Without being so irremediable as those between Francis Joseph and the lonely Elizabeth, they are occasionally scandalous. There are innumerable anecdotes concerning them. The following is amongst those told by Count Hompesch, a Court official: "The Empress was at Baden-Baden, and wanted to go to Geneva incognito. A telegram was sent to the Emperor William at Ems: 'May I go to Geneva?' Reply: 'Go.' From Geneva the Empress wanted to go to Turin. Again a telegram, and again the reply: 'Go.' And the same thing several times more, until the final reply was: 'Go, and be hanged!' Another: During the war between the State and the Roman Catholic Church a convent was to be done away with at Coblenz. The Empress, who was particularly fond of the nuns, heard of this and begged the Emperor to prevent their being turned out, but without success. Thereupon the Empress said: 'William, if the nuns have

to leave Coblenz, I shall stay with you.' The nuns did not leave." Similar anecdotes are related by the Master of the Horse, von Reischach. The statue of Frederick William I, erected in the Lustgarten at Potsdam, is unveiled on the 18th of August, 1886. At tea in the evening at Babelsberg Augusta says: "The place you chose for the monument is very good. I pictured it standing rather more to the left." The Emperor does not answer, either because he does not want to or because his wife speaks very low, as usual. She repeats her remark. The Emperor says to Reischach: "What is the Queen saying?" Then: "No, I cannot picture the statue more to the left. I really cannot possibly erect my ancestor as a pendant to the fountain of Neptune." He rings for the servant and goes for a drive; he is annoyed. Within the next few days he has a slight gastric attack. He refuses the proffered curds and cherry cake, to which he is very partial. The Empress: "It is a good thing that you did not take any cherry cake." The Emperor is silent. Her Majesty repeats the remark. The Emperor: "What does the Queen say?" And he makes a sign to the *jäger* and devours two large pieces, for it annoys him to have his health mentioned before the Royal household, and particularly before the ladies. In June 1887 Augusta is taken ill at Coblenz; William, very anxious about her at Ems, does not benefit as much by the waters as he might. General von Albedyll says by way of a joke: "Wait till you have been married for fifty years and have quarrelled with your wife every day, and then, when you are faced with the alternative of this habit coming to an end, you will be unhappy too."

Bismarck is less unjust to his adversary in later years. One morning he has to go to see his master, again on account of a "Royal demonstration in favour of the Centre Party". The Emperor is still in bed; the Empress, having dressed hastily, sits listening outside the door, which is not quite closed. In the evening, at a party at the Palace, she exchanges a few words with the Chancellor, whom she begs to spare her husband. "I never saw the Empress Augusta look so handsome, during the last ten years of her life, as at that moment. She drew herself up; her eyes flashed, as I have never seen them flash before or since. She broke off, left me standing where I was, and, as I afterwards

learned from a friend at Court, said: 'Our most gracious Chancellor is very ungracious to-day'". "Hot-headed" was what William called her; this implied annoyance, respect, and benevolence. And Bismarck underlines it: "The Queen was a courageous woman, so long as there was no physical danger, imbued with a strong sense of duty, but her sense of the dignity of her position disinclined her to allow anyone power but herself." He had the satisfaction of receiving her thanks for his loyalty to the "never-to-be-forgotten" Emperor, at Christmas 1888, nine months after William's death.

IN 1814 FREDERICK WILLIAM III was as homely and unpretentious as ever. He agreed to the State entry into Berlin, but was niggardly and apprehensive. "He came into the town incognito several days beforehand", Caroline von Rochow relates, "to inspect the arrangements, and thought everything overdone; a good deal had to be altered, and when he made his State entry at the head of the Guards, he did it so long before the expected time that there was hardly anyone about, and consequently he escaped the loudest cheers." After the wars he is a little more liberal. He gives his daughters articles of dress from Paris, and he himself habitually goes to the theatre, which is something quite new.

When his youngest daughter, Louise, is betrothed to Prince Frederick of the Netherlands, he decides to marry a second time, at fifty-four years of age. At a ball given by the Crown Prince and Princess, a young Countess von Harrach, whom he had met at Teplitz, is formally presented. She is a pretty, graceful girl of twenty-four, a member of the Bohemian aristocracy. The young Princes lose no time in paying court to her, and are thunderstruck when they hear that the stranger is to be their stepmother or aunt, as the case may be. The King wishes the wedding to be private and, owing to this, even the bridal wreath is forgotten; the leader of the *corps de ballet*, Mme Desargus-Lanière, has hastily to lend hers. But the Crown Prince insists on being present at the ceremony in the Chapel Royal at Charlottenburg. Frederick William presents his wife to the Royal Household at a midday meal, puts his hands on her shoulders, and says: "This is a young lady whom I commend to your good will." Even after the marriage no rooms are ready for the Countess, and she remains with her parents at the Hôtel *Zur Sonne*, Unter den Linden. The Grand Duke Nicholas treats her with respect; the Grand Duchess Charlotte, in bad health and hard, does not, and then apologizes. The marriage is morganatic, left-handed. Frederick William III raises his wife to the rank of Princess of Liegnitz and Countess of Hohenzollern. In 1826 she embraces the Protestant faith, having been a Catholic.

The King had hesitated before marrying her. He thought of

a daughter of Countess Pappenheim's, of the twice-divorced daughter of the Chancellor Hardenberg (her second husband having been a Pückler-Muskau), of a Countess Dillon, and a Mecklenburg-Brandenstein; and he was very fond of dancing a polonaise with pretty girls or talking to them at little tables at supper. But as a married man he is exemplary, and Princess Liegnitz has a passive amiability, a charm, which enables her to dispel his frequent ill-humour. He spends several of his birthdays at Spandau with her. He drives out in a long basket-carriage with her and her children. He is as pedantic as ever, disliking everything new.

His day is passed as follows: opens and reads correspondence, receives reports from the civil and military Cabinets, gives out the password, takes a drive in the yellow calash, dines, has a talk in the corner with the House Minister, peruses business papers, goes to the theatre, has tea with the Princess, which the Royal Princes and Princesses are expected to attend. The aide-de-camp reads aloud: the "good old gentleman" falls asleep. He does not like clever people; "disagreeable people" he calls them. He still expresses himself "laconically", like the lamented Frederick William II. He is fond of quoting the words "Silence is golden". His note on the English Court, which refuses to receive his sister-in-law, Frederica of Cumberland, is as follows: "What does this mean? Still not to be received at Court? And she my sister-in-law! Very disagreeable. The others no use either—the others not a whit better." He does not care for dramatic performances at the theatre. "There are tragedies enough in life." He hates Schiller—his *échauffement*, his *exaltation*. But he likes comedies and farces, and is faithful to the ballet. On the stroke of six the door of his box opens. After that he applies himself with a grim sense of duty to the ritual and liturgy of the Church, revision of the hymn-books, and the Evangelical Union.

In European politics he is Russophil, if only on account of his close connection with "Niks", his absolutist son-in-law Nicholas, a replica of himself. At home he favours the appointment of committees. "There were military Committees", says Caroline von Rochow, "for regulations and uniforms, Government and Finance Committees, and Committees for domestic organiza-

tion": the King was undoubtedly inclined to hear various opinions on all subjects, partly through his sense of justice and partly owing to a certain lack of confidence in his own discernment (although it was known to be better than that of most of the people on whom he relied). His motto, according to the Bishop of Eylert, was "to pacify". He "pacifies" Church and State. The worst instance of this was in the matter of popular representation, which he guaranteed by an Order in Council issued on the 22nd of May 1815, before the final campaign against Napoleon. Its third and fourth paragraphs were as follows: "The National Assembly, which shall sit in Berlin, shall be composed of elected representatives of the Provincial Diets. The competence of the Assembly shall extend to discussion of all legislation concerning personal rights and the rights of property, including taxation." The fifth and seventh paragraphs stated: "A Committee is to be set up in Berlin without loss of time composed of efficient State officials and residents in the provinces. It shall meet on the 1st of September of the current year." The decree is signed: "Given under our Royal hand and seal. Vienna, May 22nd, 1815. Frederick William, C. Prince of Hardenberg."

But in March 1818 the Prussian Sovereign is indignant over loyal requests made by the Rhine province, the towns of Cologne and Coblenz, the Mark, and the Cleves Town Council, and he punishes his subjects by issuing a Cabinet manifesto denying that any date had been fixed. It states that anyone reminding him of the promise he had given of his own free will is wantonly casting doubt on the inviolability of his word and anticipating his decision as to the proper time for the institution of the proposed Constitution. "The King is said to be vexed," Schleiermacher remarks in a letter to Arndt, the "demagogue", "and I should believe that, even if I had not heard it. His personality will always be an immense obstacle in the way of general progress; the man will never be able to reconcile himself to an independent public body, and as even the University here is too much for him, how is he ever to tolerate an Assembly close at hand where discussion is free? I think that if it had to come to that, he would betake himself to one of his favourite resorts, Paris or St. Petersburg, during the sessions."

In 1820 Frederick William III regretfully renews his promise, in an edict concerning the State debts. The Crown Prince leads a revolt in the National Council against Hardenberg's liberalizing Finance Bill. "Tell the Chancellor", he shouts to the President, "that the Royal Princes sat in this assembly." He then abandons his opposition. William, more honest, votes recommending his father "to relieve the poorer people" by putting more of the burden on the wealthier classes and higher-paid officials. The Finance Bill is passed. But the conflict between the Crown Prince and the exhausted Chancellor is renewed in the Constitutional Committee, over which the Prince presides. As Hardenberg is in Laibach and Rome, the nobility and landed gentry carry on an agitation, and a memorandum by Herr von Rochow-Rekahn seals the fate of the "work of madness and falsehood." In vain Hardenberg reminds the King of his word from his country seat, not from Berlin. The reactionary party triumphs. A fresh Order in Council states that any further question of summoning the National Assembly will depend on experience and developments, and must be left to time and "my paternal solicitude". The plan to give Prussia a Constitution merely results in the formation of a body representing the Provincial Diets. The Constitutional Committee is given the new name of "Immediate Committee", and it creates an unsuccessful system of district government. Hardenberg dies at Genoa, after the Congress at Verona, a broken man.

Prince William is not a Constitutionalist like Gneisenau, but a Prussian patriot, when he writes to Natzmer in 1824: "Had the nation known in 1813 that after eleven years nothing but a memory would remain of a level of splendour, fame, and prestige which was within reach and really had been reached at that time, would anyone have sacrificed everything for the sake of such a result?" His complaint may be aimed just as much against Wittgenstein and the Grand Duke Charles of Mecklenburg as against Hardenberg. But the fact of his having written on the same date, commending the "wise middle course between atheism and an affectation of piety", is a proof of his moderation: "It is only sad that our age will not tread this middle path, and inclines so strongly to the latter extreme." In January he hands his father

an opinion on more rapid promotion to the Staff; he is in favour of clearing out some of the General Staff. In March 1825 he is appointed to command the III Army Corps.

A few months after the decision in the case of Elisa Radziwill, in December 1826, the King breaks his right leg on a staircase. William is a good son to him. He writes to Alexandrina: "We all go to see him together at half-past six in the evening. Besides that I go two or three times a day, and only send in to inquire again in the morning, as Papa is not allowed to see and talk to too many people. Either the Princess or the aide-de-camp reads aloud to him. Good-bye; I am worn out!" In 1827 the King reviews the Army Corps for the first time, with the Guards. In the winters of 1828, 1829, 1832, 1834, and 1835, visits to Nicholas in Russia, and, after the death of the Emperor Francis, to his imbecile successor, Ferdinand, and to Metternich in Vienna.

The July revolution in 1830 makes the Prince a Legitimist. He has to inspect the troops mobilized on the western frontier. In 1831 he thanks Major von Willisen, who has congratulated him on the birth of his son: "I can well understand that on this occasion you revelled again in the future of Prussia, and that you picture material greatness, whereas I still only desire moral conquests." True, these had been lost during the last year, for there was none of the South German boasting: "*Enfin vous voyez que je ne change point.* I am nevertheless convinced that we shall some day have the whole thing here, but we shall not profit by it. Who knows what may yet be before my children!" In 1832 he explains his views to Willisen, who accuses him of being politically narrow-minded. The State must neither stand still nor go backwards as regards its institutions, but it "must not rush into reforms—they must be allowed to come about quietly, slowly, and deliberately". The King, he maintains, has governed his country well and justly: "If the principles do not find favour with the King, it is not for his subjects to stir up discontent on that account amongst the masses. It is true that the new-fashioned doctrine is to extort everything from the King through the masses, and in the last resort, through rebellion, but it is the first duty of every loyal subject, particularly of the

officials, and. beneath them again, of the soldiers, to put down such teaching. Where there is another opinion there is rebellion in embryo, and woe to those who then vainly imagine that they will be able to keep it within bounds later on."

Two years later he speaks against Willisen's views with regard to freedom of the Press, and of the Provincial Diets. "We will leave it to the King's discretion to decide what can and must be done; if we tried to forestall him, we should be assuming one of his royal prerogatives, and when the first is surrendered, the others soon follow." In 1832, when there is some question of reducing the three years' period of military service, as a measure of economy, he is against rather than in favour of any relaxation in the existing system, on the ground that the "true military" spirit would disappear. "The tendency of the revolutionary or Liberal Party in Europe is to pull down all the pillars, by degrees, on which the Sovereign's power and prestige depend, and which consequently safeguard him in the hour of danger. It is natural that the armies should still be the first and foremost of these pillars, and the more they are inspired by a true military spirit, the more difficult it is to get at them. Discipline and blind obedience, however, are things which can only be acquired and established by long habit. This blind obedience is the greatest obstacle in the way of the revolutionists. They cannot and dare not oppose this spirit directly; this is why we have seen that party pursue the same course in all countries which have Constitutions and Chambers, in order to achieve their object, which is to undermine the military spirit. The hottest debates are always over the army estimates, and although as a rule it has been done reluctantly, and only in order to gain popularity in the Chambers, still the estimates have generally been modified, and the process has been repeated in every fresh session of the Diets." If once the period of service is shortened, who can lengthen it again? "So we have reached the turning-point of a question which I take very deeply to heart, for the fate of the Fatherland and of the throne depends on its solution. I remain, with intense and painful emotion, your obedient son, William, Prince of Prussia." It was in these words that the Prince appealed to the King.

The recognition of Louis Philippe's *bourgeois* royalty and the

severance of Belgium from Holland depress him. He is pleased with his father-in-law, the Grand Duke of Weimar, who does not allow any but private sessions of the Diet, thus showing that he has the "real good" of his people at heart, "not that on which the ranters expatiate". And at this period, April 1833, he would have been strongly in favour of war against revolution. "The errors which we sanction in the eyes of the masses by preserving peace are more likely to be disastrous to the people than war to combat them. And it will come to war; but the longer it is postponed, the more the enemy's forces will be consolidated." All the same, in a letter to his sister Charlotte the Prince expresses himself in favour of a non-elected Central Prussian Diet, a one-Chamber system, the sessions to be indefinitely prolonged at the King's pleasure, and the power of the assembly limited to deliberation; they could not swim against the stream. Prussia's legislation had in reality been revolutionary since 1808.

In 1837 he disapproves of the marriage, which his father tolerates, between the Duke of Orleans, Louis Philippe's son, and the Duchess Helen of Mecklenburg. Helen, the "German Princess", can have no motive but vanity. "Look at things as one may, Louis Philippe is still a usurper, and he and his successors have no legal right to the crown they wear. His dynasty may or may not endure for a century—history will indelibly record the way in which he attained the crown as a wrong. He is now the recognized King. That must be admitted. But there is a vast distance between recognizing the temporarily inevitable fact, and an alliance between a House that has come to the throne in such a way and the other illustrious and lawfully existing princely Houses of Europe." A condemnation of blue, white, and red France: "A nation that has morally sunk so low as the French can only take a turn for the better when catastrophes have befallen it."

At the end of 1837 he is given command of the Guards and appointed Inspector-General of the Forces. The conflict with the Roman Catholic Church over the Archbishop of Vixchering seems to him undignified and damaging to the State. In 1838 he writes to Natzmer: "Surely we are not going to war now to defend the doctrine of peace, when we have allowed all the

existing political conditions to come about and treaties to be trodden underfoot without unsheathing the sword. Religious wars would transport us completely back into the Middle Ages, because fanaticism would be inevitable, and with it all the horror of those times. Everything will be quietly and properly adjusted, although not so quickly, it is true, as many would like to assume. But no forcible measures must be taken against Rome! Should the Head of that Church be *hors de saison*, time will show it, but we must not try to force the issue, unless we want to bring about a religious war." He does not scruple to find fault with the Protestant extremists: "Unfortunately there are people who really would like to do that, our pious folk at the head of them, and why? Because they would like to put themselves at the head of the Evangelical Church, and thus over the Government. These people are a constant danger to us." He is so Prussian that he becomes a Freemason.

"Stick to your love of fighting", is the encouragement he gives to two Lieutenants in the Guards, who want to go to the Caucasus, in November 1838. In January 1840 he writes to the General in command at Posen about Archbishop Dunin, who is imprisoned at Kolberg, and the tangle in which they are almost deliberately getting more and more involved: "It is as fortunate as it is almost incomprehensible that the lower classes should still be keeping their temper, but the bow must not be kept bent too long. It is high time to do something to pacify them; the measures taken must therefore be prompt."

In March 1840 the more and more solitary King is suffering from fever and weakness. Marie de la Motte-Fouqué writes: "The relations between the children and their father were peculiarly beautiful, though distant. During this mortal illness they did not dare to come to him without being sent for, and days passed without their seeing him. Nor did they dare to postpone a tour of inspection to Posen and the Rhine, on which the two elder Princes were to start on the 27th, nor to ask the King to provide a substitute. Now that they both recognized how serious his condition was, the prospect was terrible to them, but even the Crown Prince did not seem to see the necessity of remaining here." On the 22nd of May Frederick William witnesses

a review for the last time, from the window of his blue writing-room, the Crown Prince commanding the troops in his place. After that he faints. On the 1st of June the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the memorial in Unter den Linden to Frederick the Great is carried out by his wish; the King is again carried to the window, and this time in bed. He passes away soon after the arrival of the Tsarina Charlotte and the Tsar Nicholas, on Whit-Sunday, the 7th of June, at three o'clock in the afternoon, surrounded by his family. Princess Liegnitz does not follow him to the grave. She occupies Elizabeth Christine's castle at Niederschönstein till her death at Homburg in 1873.

FREDERICK WILLIAM THE FOURTH

DELBRÜCK'S DIFFICULT PUPIL, the Crown Prince Frederick William, is forty-five when he ascends the throne in 1840. He has been married to Elizabeth of Bavaria, who is six years younger, since 1823.

None of those entrusted with his upbringing have been able to cure the lack of self-control of which Louise complained: neither General von Gaudy, who was generally ill, nor General von Diericke, who was an old woman, nor Lotte, who was too weak, nor Ancillon, his tutor from 1810 to 1814, afterwards Minister for Foreign Affairs, nor General von Schack, who taught him; he bestows his affections on Countess Julie Brandenburg, in spite of being a married man, and dies of a wasting spinal disease.

Writing of the Prince at the age of twenty or thereabouts, Caroline von Rochow says: "His intelligence and good sense were notorious even then, but he was highly imaginative, and proportionately disillusioned and disappointed when he found the reality not quite what he had imagined. It was the same with his feelings; he was always thinking of the passions he might experience, and, in reality, nothing ever came of it. For instance, Princess William had some head or other in her room, which was said to resemble a Princess who afterwards married the Palatine of Hungary. This was the ideal he pursued, and he was continually haunted by fear of the passionate love he must necessarily feel if ever he met her, which he never did. He was subject to violent outbreaks of temper on the smallest provocation, which was remarkable in a man of so much intelligence, who was not only extremely kind-hearted and good-natured, but also had lofty aims." Prince William was the victim of the youth's fits of temper, and he often had painful scenes with Prince Charles.

In 1828 he visits Italy with Prince John of Saxony, the husband of Elizabeth's twin sister, Amelia Augusta, and consequently his brother-in-law, who writes poetry in imitation of Dante. The friends stand beside Dante's grave together, and Frederick, who has hitherto been chiefly interested in the German Middle

Ages, becomes an enthusiastic admirer of the classics. Years later John appeals to him "by all the Greek and Scandinavian gods, by Dante and Goethe, Beatrice and Laura, by our hatred for utilitarianism" and so forth. Frederick William calls John Gianettino Doria, Giovanni degli Alberti, and other fancy names, and himself "Dicky the Wise", or "the fat mad friend from Kölln on the Spree", for he grows fat and his face flabby at an early age. He signs his letters with the head of a turbot [in German, *Steinbutt*.—Tr.]—"Butt" being the nickname given him by his family—and interlards the text with Sanscrit and Berlin colloquialisms. His confused political mysticism is frequently demonstrated. In 1835 he speaks pityingly of the Emperor Francis as "dear, good Franzl, once Roman Emperor, and (what is to me still more unspeakable) the last King of the Germans". He extols the Holy Alliance, and fancies himself in the apocalyptic rôle. The Protestant Hohenzollern only sobers down occasionally. In a letter of 1832 he says: "We have had enough revelation, however; let us quickly choose a thoroughly unexciting theme, as a means of escape from the desert of mysticism." And John replies: "But on the other hand, see that we have the Germany we desire, so that the people may not long for an apocalyptic ditto. If only you could do that! When it comes to electing an Emperor, I will vote for you."

In September 1830, after the July revolution in Paris, Frederick William takes the Government of Saxony sternly to task. He is furious with the people of Dresden for not having shown their teeth to "the generation of vipers, the handful of *canaille*, this mixture of infuriated rabble and disgraceful agitators", although it would assuredly have been a pleasure to their powerful neighbour to give the Saxon authorities both moral and physical support. The rebels do not deserve to be pardoned: "If a little blood should flow, well then let it flow with God's help; it will certainly be blood that will be better on the pavement of the market-places than in the veins in which it now flows!" But he is convinced that there is no fear of a revolution, as far as Dresden is concerned.

His marriage, which was for long indirectly connected with his brother's love affair with Elisa Radziwill, is facilitated through

Frederick William III having omitted to exclude the Bavarian Princesses as Roman Catholics. For the King says he will never accept a Catholic daughter-in-law. There is a strong feeling in Munich in favour of the marriage, but against a change of faith, unless Elizabeth voluntarily declares herself willing to become a Protestant when in a Protestant country. Strauss, a clergyman of high standing in Berlin, is sent to sound the Princess's religious views, and comes back full of enthusiasm. Countess Reede is the second "ostensible" emissary from the Berlin Court. Frederick William III suddenly gives his consent, in the mistaken belief that a promise has been given with regard to the change of faith. The Crown Prince, who has pronounced in favour of Elizabeth, is very *distrait* in her company. He says once or twice that he is happy, but he does not look it. Elizabeth said that she had not liked or understood the ardour of his letters, seeing the very slight acquaintance that had hitherto existed between them, and that she does not find it at all the same when they meet. She has a great reception all along the road from Zeitz to Berlin, from the moment when she is first accompanied by the Altenburg peasants in their national costume until they are joined by the employees of all the factories, carrying their banners and led by merchants of high standing mounted on the best of English horses. The Schlossbrücke, which has been thrown open for the procession to pass over, is closed too soon during the illuminations; lives are sacrificed in the crush on the emergency bridge.

Countess Reede is appointed Mistress of the Robes to the Crown Princess; she acts as "a silent, often irate" barrier between her and the society about the Court, and makes her nervous by her formality. The King, who has been disappointed as regards the change of religion, is not at all friendly to her, and when she becomes a Protestant, five years later, he is only half pacified. Her Hohenzollern relations, who are jealous, make themselves disagreeable, and the Crown Prince is indifferent to her, until the care she takes of him in an illness makes him realize better what marriage is. She remains childless, and sometimes cries over it. The daughter of a Court official, to whose wife she had poured out her grief, sentimentally describes her as having regarded the Chapel Royal, built by the King—now Frederick

William IV—who had discussed every detail of it with her, as her favourite child. "As the cupola of St. Peter's in Rome was her ideal, the King had the Castle crowned with a similar cupola, at her suggestion." For Frederick William was fond of dabbling in architecture. Even as Crown Prince, according to Treitschke, he had encouraged the completion of the cathedrals of Magdeburg and Cologne and restored some of Germany's ancient castles and strongholds. Elizabeth's private circle is small, and the evenings when the Royal couple receive their friends at tea are not very enjoyable.

During the old King's lifetime Frederick William is dissatisfied, in his capricious way, with his father's policy and his Ministers. General von der Gröben, Chief of the General Staff, who belongs to his special côterie, is described by Caroline von Rochow as being very much like him in his inability to believe that there could be anything he did not understand or was not competent to do, and the way in which his active brain seized first upon one idea and then another, until the hearer became quite giddy. Another of his chosen friends is General Leopold von Gerlach, who is aide-de-camp to Prince William for a long time, and believes in the divine right of kings. Caroline von Rochow speaks of him as having as great a natural gift for intrigue as it would be possible to find, and being consequently a man who might be very dangerous, but for this quality being tempered by kindliness, the most noble unselfishness, and the religious trend of his character. This ultra-Conservative has a pupil later on who breaks away from him, and whose letters to him are a mental revelation, Otto von Bismarck. But the clever member of his *entourage* is von Radowitz, a Hungarian Catholic, perhaps the son of a wine merchant, who becomes a member of the Prussian nobility through his marriage with a Countess Voss. He serves with Jerome of Westphalia's artillery from 1812 onwards, is wounded and taken prisoner at Leipzig, is tutor to the Crown Prince at the corrupt Hesse-Cassel Court, and is given an appointment on the Prussian General Staff. Frederick William III has a grudge against him because he interfered in his sister's (the Grand Duchess Augusta's) private affairs when in Cassel, and he has to leave Berlin. He becomes Prussian military plenipo-

tentiary to the Federal Council. The Crown Prince, however, swears by him and consults him.

At his father's death-bed Frederick William III says to his wife, in tears: "Stand by me now, Elisa, for I need strength." Elizabeth takes Prince William's son in her arms. In the library the new King throws himself with a loud cry into the arms of Princess Wittgenstein, who hands him the deceased King's last will, with his last instructions and a letter, a few hours after his death. Special editions, which are sent to the Ministerial office, inform the citizens of what has happened at the Palace. The family separate. Both the King and Prince William remain in Berlin. The Tsar and Tsarina drive to Potsdam, where Charlotte throws off her mourning directly the doors of her apartments are safely shut. After the funeral service the coffin is taken to the mausoleum at Charlottenburg, where Louise's remains rest. The new ruler summons the State Council and remarks, in his first speech, that none of its members have ever abandoned the setting for the rising sun. When the Ministers take the oath, he embraces the reactionary von Rochow-Rekahn, who is now Minister for Home Affairs. He removes to Potsdam and the "historic hill" of Sanssouci, he, the German King, in the house of the Voltairian, with its monkeys and parrots and the nakedness of the Barbarina.

The *Staatsanzeiger* publishes extracts from Frederick William the Third's will, dated June 1, 1827. One contains pious reflections, the other warns the heir apparent as much against over-partiality for the old order as against a mania for reforms, and speaks of the alliance with Austria and Russia as the "keystone of the great European alliance". There is an undated draft of another will, however, which the deceased King had recently handed to Prince Wittgenstein. It concerns the question of a United Diet, to be composed of thirty-two members of the Provincial Diets and the same number of members of the Privy Council, and only convened when a loan is to be raised. No change is to be made in the Constitution without the consent of the Royal Princes. That is the chief thing, particularly in the eyes of William, who now presides over the Privy Council and the Ministry, with the title of Prince of Prussia.

After weeks of discussion, Frederick William IV, vague and inconsistent even in this, yields to the opposition made by Gerlach and Rochow, and by Metternich at Pillnitz. The plan is not carried out, and strict secrecy is observed with regard to it. "You compel me to give up my plan for the present", he says, "for I have no one to help me to carry it out." And later on he will be regretting a lost opportunity, "like the many others that have been lost for years past." He foresees "how evil the consequences will be", yet he grants a political amnesty on the 10th of August 1840.

On the 29th of August the festivities in honour of the King's accession begin with his and Elizabeth's State entry into Königsberg. A double line formed by the trade-guilds, the butchers in front, the ships on the Pregel dressed, Frederick William IV on horseback beside the carriage in which his consort is seated, high-sounding and empty words, "shouts of joy" from the masses. The Prussian Diet holds a meeting under the presidency of von Schön, the Liberal Governor-General of the province, and begs His Majesty graciously to assure his loyal people that the Provincial Diets shall continue to exist, and that, "following in his father's footsteps", he will create the promised assembly representing the provinces. The opponents of the Constitution are indignant, amongst them Prince William, who writes to Schön: "I consider it most disloyal to demand guarantees from a new sovereign on his accession to the throne. The fact that, since the institution of the Provincial Diets, the late lamented King has done nothing towards any further extension of popular representation shows clearly the keenness and correctness of the insight which enables him to see that the modernism of such institutions in other countries has led to nothing but harm, unrest, and discontent on all sides. It would meet with the approval of all who wish the existing order to be overthrown, who encourage selfishness and are slaves to their vanity. It is not my aim, nor that of any true patriot, to be popular with such people."

Von Schön succeeds in mollifying Frederick William. "The King is even more Liberal than I am", was the remark made after the audience by the Governor, who had worked with Stein

and Hardenberg for the reform, and who now prepares his anonymous memorandum, *Whence and Whither?* The request made by the Diet is refused, not ungraciously, and Tsar Nicholas congratulates his brother-in-law. The province gives a banquet in honour of the King. Prussia and Posen take the oath of allegiance in the courtyard of the Castle. When the form of the oath is read out, a crazy woman shouts: "Don't swear! Don't swear!" The throne is on a platform, and Frederick William raises his hand and makes an enthusiastic speech about the Prussian Fatherland, whose precious metal is not subject to any but "the beautifying rust of centuries". Then comes Berlin—triumphal arches, flags, festoons. The King tells the Chief Burgomaster that it is intoxicating, a perfect orgy. "If only there is no headache to follow!"

Again the show of homage. First in the Castle, where the Princes, the clergy, the nobility and landed gentry take the oath, in accordance with a privilege of which the burghers of the East Provinces complain, then in the open space to the south of the Castle, the Schloss-Platz, where it is taken by the representatives of the people and the peasants. A scarlet and gold throne. The King asks: "Will you stand by me and help me to develop and strengthen the splendid qualities which have been the means of associating Prussia, whose population is only fourteen millions, with the Great Powers of the earth, namely, honesty, loyalty, yearning for light and truth, the ever-increasing wisdom of age, combined with the courage and ardour of youth? Will you persevere with me in this effort through good and evil days? If so, then answer me in the clear beautiful tones of the mother-tongue, answer me with an honest resolute 'Yes!' " The "honest resolute 'Yes' " resounds across the open space. Frederick William, who up to nine o'clock had been unwilling to make a speech, is carried away, and continuing, exclaims: "That 'Yes' was for me. I shall remember it to my dying day. I will keep the vow I have made to-day, so help me God. In token thereof I raise my right hand to heaven, and may the blessing of God rest on this hour!" Song: "Now thank we all our God." Trumpet blasts from the battlements of the Castle. Banquet given by the town of Berlin. The King: "My lord Burgomaster, gentlemen of the

Town Council, come hither." A town councillor waxes Messianic: "My God, how I thank Thee for having given us such a King!" While this loyal turmoil was going on, Bakunin, the Russian Nihilist, wrote to Alexander Herzen: "Berlin is a nice town, excellent music, cheap living, a very decent theatre, plenty of newspapers in the confectioners' shops—in a word, everything good, very good. The Germans are terrible Philistines! If only a tenth part of their intelligence found expression in their daily lives they would be a splendid people; at present, however, they are supremely ridiculous."

Three days after the ceremony of paying homage, a gala performance at the opera by the nobility and gentry, *tableaux vivants* representing scenes in the history of the Electorate, beginning with a *tableau* of the Elector Frederick I receiving the homage of the Berlin Diet in 1417, and ending with an allegorical representation, by Begas, of the homage paid to the King, who is present with the Queen and the Princes and Princesses. But very, very soon the reaction comes that the King himself had prophesied; the people are disappointed. Whilst his foolish belief in the Divine Right of Kings is becoming more fixed, the Pietists are gaining increasing influence over him. Not only Count Anton Stolberg, the Radziwills' friend, who was Prince William's aide-de-camp, afterwards Governor-General of the province of Saxony, and to whom Frederick William IV gives an official appointment in the House Ministry until a more independent post can be created for him, but also General von Thile, popularly known in Berlin as "Bible-Thile", are amongst the "canting hypocrites of Sanssouci" held up to ridicule in a parody of Becker's *Rheinlied*, a song composed in the alarm caused by Thiers' threats of war. The King is annoyed. "When paper war breaks out between two parties, there is no occasion to put it down, but this attack on persons whom I have taken into my service, and to whom I have given posts of which I considered them worthy, is disgraceful, for the object is to destroy confidence."

Schön's *Whence and Whither?* upsets him, and he writes to him on the 26th of December 1840: "I feel myself absolutely King by the grace of God, and with His help I shall feel that

The Tauentzien Palace Unter den Linden

to the end. Take my Royal word for it, no Prince, no peasant, no farm labourer, no Diet, no clamour will succeed in dispossessing me of any prerogative rightly or wrongly now appertaining to the Crown unless I first renounce it. I leave brilliance and astuteness, without envying them, to the so-called Constitutional Princes, who have become an abstract idea to the people through the instrumentality of a scrap of paper. The way of German Princes is to rule as a father, and as I have inherited the sovereignty from my forefathers, I have confidence in my people. Therefore I can and will guide children of tender age, punish those who have been corrupted, and, on the other hand, give those who are worthy of it a share in the administration of my domains, see that they receive their due, and protect them against insolence from subordinates."

1841: Frederick William IV lives at Potsdam, in small rooms. But the men-servants no longer wear blue and red; their livery is now blue, richly ornamented with silver lace and silver shoulder-knots. The Queen has to drive out with six horses and four outriders. Drawing-room, grand ball at the Castle in Berlin, in the *Weissesaal* and *Rittersaal.*

In February the Diets meet in all the provinces. The King asks Rochow, Schön's enemy, who is also very much at loggerheads with General Wrangel, commanding the I Army Corps at Königsberg: "What is to be done if Prussia brings forward a second motion? After my reply to the first, it must surely be considered high treason, and punished accordingly." The Prussia of which he speaks is East and West Prussia. The Diets open with attendance at church. An "irreverent" *brochure* entitled *Four Questions* appears, with a quotation from the Old Testament referring to the Israelites having forsaken Rehoboam because he would not do the will of the people. Frederick William is furious, and demands strict inquiry to be made by the Ministry of Justice. A Jewish doctor in Königsberg, Dr. Jacoby, sends the King word that he is the author. Frederick William writes to Schön: "See that the disgrace brought upon East Prussia by circumcized Jews is repaired by uncircumcized men of long-standing loyalty who have confidence in me." All the same he agrees to make a concession to the Diets. Committees are to

be elected from them all, in the meantime, so that he can have the benefit of their advice, and allow them to co-operate in "matters of national importance"; he reserves the right to summon them to meet for joint deliberation. "In short", he flatters himself in a letter to Schön, "I have laid the foundations of an institution which may achieve real freedom without the iniquitous farces, the utter unreality, and the hideous clap-trap of other Constitutions and badly organized Legislatures. Now, I say it boldly, none but Jacobins, periwigs, or donkeys can doubt my belief in freedom. It will not be difficult for the Diets throughout the country, those of Prussia at the head of them, to choose between me and Israel."

Towards the end of the summer Frederick William goes to Breslau. He declines to be welcomed by the municipal authorities because they had supported a demand for the National Constitution in the Silesian Diet, thus carrying on "almost open opposition". He meets the Tsar at Warsaw, who smooths him down. "I am sorry to be unable to receive you any longer in the way in which you have been accustomed to be received by me for many years past, Herr von Schön", he says in the presence of the Ministers Thile and Boyen to the Governor-General, who has been summoned to the Castle in Berlin. In November he pays a visit to the Bavarian Court, on account of the Queen-Mother's death. In December Queen Victoria's invitation to the King to act as godfather to her son (afterwards King Edward) gives rise to "a good deal of talk and criticism". Bunsen, sent on a special mission to London in April, and as Minister before the end of the year, arranged this visit. The King was Anglophil at that time.

1842: The King leaves in January. During his stay in England, which is "a triumphal progress", the Prince of Prussia represents him. In February Frederick William returns in great spirits. Savigny takes Kamptz's place as Minister of Justice, Bodelschwingh that of Alvensleben as Finance Minister, and Heinrich von Bülow becomes Minister for Foreign Affairs. There is no system in it all. Motte-Fouqué, who is Caroline von Rochow's sister, is of opinion that "the number of those whose birth, character, and circumstances fit them for the throne is becoming

smaller and smaller". Schön is dismissed "on account of his treasonable pamphlet", which is published by a Radical bookseller. General Wrangel is transferred to Stettin; Frederick William thinks he would "shoot too soon" at Königsberg. And he even gives Rochow his *congé*, "in tears". His successor is Count Adolph von Arnim-Boitzenburg, a nephew of Stein's and a Conservative, who has been Governor-General of Posen for the last year.

In June the King goes to Russia again, for Nicholas and Charlotte's silver wedding. Stays at Königsberg on the way back; the East Prussians are embittered. Then in the Western Provinces. At Hamm he drinks a bumper to the health of the Mark, "with a heart full to overflowing". To Cologne, for the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the Cathedral a second time. Rhetorical enthusiasm in the presence of Metternich, who listens coldly to prophecies of a Germany for future generations which will have become great and powerful through the union of their Princes and forefathers, and will compel the peace of the world without bloodshed. Cheers for Cologne! Brühl, Stolzenfels, Trier, Saarbrücken all profusely decorated.

In October the King is back in Berlin; an Order in Council summons the "United Committees" of the provincial Diets thither. Radowitz is to draft a manifesto. He protests; the Royal sovereignty ought not to be subjected to the sovereignty of majorities. So there is no manifesto. Arnim speaks, not Frederick William. The meeting breaks up in anger. Opinions from the Ministers which bewilder the King. Audience given to the poet Herwegh: "I like a sensible opposition." "We intend to be honest enemies." The Opposition in East Prussia give a banquet in honour of the "song-bird of liberty", at which the "Marseillaise" is played. Herwegh irritates the King by a letter which is published in the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung*, speaking of "not professing a devotion he did not feel". He, a Suabian, is banished from Prussia.

1843: Jacoby acquitted by the highest Court of Appeal. Rugés's *Deutsche Jahrbücher* and the *Rheinische Zeitung* suppressed. A chief censorship instituted. The King, never sure of himself, finds fault with the policy pursued by the Minister of Education and Public Worship in connection with the University. "Tell me

how it is", he writes in November to Thile, "that P. Nauwerck, a well-known revolutionary, has become a lecturer in the University here, and that he is allowed the use of the great lecture-hall —in other words, to occupy Schelling and Savigny's Chair! I am very much distressed about this dreadful mistake, which again seriously endangers the nascent good spirit amongst the students. This sort of thing must not be allowed to go on any longer. Revolutionaries must not shelter in Prussia under the wing of the Government." Nauwerck then has to go, so has Hoffman von Fallersleven, a professor at Breslau. Sessions of the provincial Diets, which are taking more and more upon themselves. At Christmas the King institutes the order of the Swan.

1844: In May Arnim sends in his resignation, on the ground that in his first speeches the monarch had visualized a different development from that contemplated by his hearers. There is now a general lack of confidence. In June the Silesian linen-weavers rise against the manufacturers, who have ruthlessly lowered their wages. One of them says: "It will come to the workmen having to weave a length for the price of a cream cheese." A pamphlet entitled *The Bloody Régime in Peterswaldau* is distributed in the villages with objectionable verses which the weavers sing at their employers' windows. The police arrest one of the singers. The weavers storm the factory buildings at Peterswaldau and Langenbielau. Infantry are brought from Schweidnitz and fire on them; many killed and wounded. On the 26th of July the King is getting into his carriage at the entrance of the Castle in Berlin, to go to Silesia, when the former Burgomaster of Storkow, Tschech, the son of a clergyman, who has a personal grievance, fires two pistol-shots at him. Frederick William, protected by his cloak, is only slightly wounded. Tschech is imprisoned. The King wishes to pardon him; he is defiant. Frederick William signs the death-warrant "with streaming eyes". In December the King again turns his attention to the United Committees and now to the question of a United Diet as well. He believes he is inspired. He says privately to Bunsen in the course of this year: "You all have very good intentions towards me, and are also capable of carrying out plans, but there are things that one only knows as King that I did not know myself as Crown Prince,

and have only now learnt as King." He complains that no one understands him or can enter into his ideas. Marginal note by Bunsen: "If one did understand him, how could one enter into his ideas?" Gerlach is even blasphemous: "The ways of the Lord are marvellous."

1845: Arnim sends in his resignation for the second time. It is accepted; he has incurred Frederick William's displeasure. His successor is Ernest von Bodelschwingh. Street-fighting at Leipzig. Religious agitations on the part of the German Catholics and Radical Protestants. The monarch, whose attitude towards the "modernists" and the middle party is absolutely relentless, writes, about a year later, to Thile: "The impudence of these enemies of the Gospel is really beyond endurance. The strongest measures must and shall be taken to deal with them as they deserve, both at Königsberg, Halle, Magdeburg, Nordhausen, Berlin, and wherever people are being taught to rebel against God as a preliminary to rebelling against the King." At the Westphalian Diet of 1845 Freiherr George von Vincke says that just as Prussia took the lead in the matter of the Customs Union, so she must be the first of the German States to have a free Constitution. Almost all the provincial Diets demand joint representation. The Liberals carry on an agitation at Königsberg, where the *Bürgerverein* is broken up, and Jacoby again uses bold language at Breslau, Halle, and Stralsund. Frederick William summons a fresh Constitutional Committee, which carries on lengthy deliberations in July and from the end of September onwards.

In March 1846 the Committee and the Ministers vote for a United Diet, in a majority of six. In August sanguinary riots in Kölln, the citizens against the military. In December the King's proposals are accepted. On the 3rd of February, 1847, the anniversary of Frederick William III's proclamation of 1813, a short document bearing the Great Seal is published without the rider the Sovereign had intended to append, to the effect that he was not granting "a representative assembly in the modern sense of the word"; three decrees are published respecting the United Diet, United Committee, and State debt deputation. A special Chamber is set up as a fourth Chamber, composed of

the Royal Princes and seventy-two mediatized Princes and members of the nobility; there are not enough of them in the old provinces to supply the number. The extreme Liberals (the Democrats) murmur. Heinrich Simon begins his publication *Accept or Reject* with the words: "We asked for bread, and you have given us a stone."

On the 11th of April Frederick William IV opens the Diet in the *Weissesaal* of the Royal Palace in Berlin, speaking rapidly and from memory: "I am anxious to explain that I shall certainly not allow a written document—a second Providence, as it were—to intervene between our Lord God in heaven and this country, in order to govern us by its provisions and substitute them for the former sacred loyalty. Let there be truth between us. I know myself to be totally devoid of weakness of any kind. I have no desire for empty popularity. . . . I and my House wish to serve God." Thile was the only Minister who knew what he was going to say. The Liberal deputies are disheartened. The East Prussians are only prevented from going home by the Rhinelanders. Wearisome discussions over the address in reply to the King. Then a compromise is reached: the Diet will safeguard and uphold both the honour and power of the Crown and the privileges of the Diet "as priceless treasures".

On the 19th of April a hunger strike breaks out in Berlin on account of the exorbitant cost of living, the "potato war", which lasts for days. Soldiers lay about them with the flat of the sword. The Diet refuses the loan for the Eastern railway. The King orders the works in connection with the bridge over the Vistula to be stopped. It was necessary, he explained to Thile, to throw a sort of bucket of cold water on a Prussia whose illegal proceedings had gone to her head and a Diet which was beginning to suffer from the same complaint. In spite of their besotted condition, they were past-masters in the art of hitting off the thing to do. "They must be fought with the same weapon *des à propos*, and with the real power of the State." George von Vincke, a Westphalian, Camphausen, Mevissen, Beckerath, and Hansemann from the Rhine Provinces, Count Schwerin, a Pomeranian, and Alfred von Auerswald, an East Prussian, are in the Opposition; Otto von Bismarck-Schönhausen is amongst the Royalists.

Vincke's opposition to the re-election of the now obsolete United Committees is only supported by a minority. The Diet, however, which is dissolved on the 26th of June, requests the King to summon it periodically.

Frederick William goes to Pillnitz in high dudgeon, to the *Carissimo Sasso di Dante*, to Ischl (where Elizabeth is taking the waters), Trieste, Venice, and the Rhine. The republicans at Neuchâtel are trying to shake off Prussian rule. In November 1847 their ruler informs the young Queen of England that the question of delivering Switzerland from the Radicals is simply vital for Germany. "If they gain the upper hand there, torrents of blood will flow in Germany too; I will answer for that. The murder of kings, priests, and aristocrats is no idle threat with them, and civil war is their solution in song, in writings, in word and in deed." He goes on to say: "The German people rely on their Governments and do nothing, but the Governments are weakened by Liberalism (the forerunner of Radicalism, just as chicken-pox precedes cholera), and must be responsible for the consequences of their carelessness. This godless gang will gain ground in Germany, because, although they are only a small body, their unity and pertinacity gives them strength."

In June 1848 the United Committees discuss the penal code, and on the 18th Ludwig Camphausen points out that when the people's representatives were willing to compromise, and had gone a long way towards yielding to the other side, their overtures were indignantly repulsed. "A word would have sufficed to end the conflict over the Constitution in Prussia for ever. It was not spoken. The consequences must be borne, but history will judge between us and the Government." On the 22nd of February—revolution in Paris. On the 18th of March—in Berlin. Frederick William's unstable, rotten, hybrid absolutism is wavering.

THE PART PRINCE WILLIAM plays during these seven years is simpler. He is the military pillar of the old régime that he was in his father's time, and he is careful to lead a life in accordance with his regular duties. In 1840 he pays his first visit to Ems, where he will be taking a walk at an historical moment in 1870. His brother appoints him Governor of Pomerania and head of the State Ministry.

He has natural respect for Frederick William, but he makes a point of referring to "the lamented King" even to the officers. In January 1842 he writes to the Hereditary Grand Duke Charles Alexander of Saxe-Weimar about his "numerous accidents". He is not doing foolish things or "playing pranks" of any kind, for "when an Imperial companion-ladder gives way beneath me, when a Grand Ducal ceiling falls on my head, when a Royal game-keeper wounds me, and when a pair of horses I have been driving every day for the last six months become restive, all that, I think, is not my fault". Comments follow with reference to changes in the uniform. It is a relief to him that his brother is back again after the dreadful interval of four weeks when he was in England. "After this experience", he writes to Maria Pavlovna, "I am less ambitious than ever to reign." He is anxious about Augusta, who is ill after a miscarriage. He speaks to Colonel Schuckmann of his jubilee as Colonel-in-Chief of the 7th Grenadier Regiment, an honour conferred on him in 1817 by Frederick William III. "The sequel to those great days has been twenty-seven years of peace."

To Natzmer he expresses his opinion of the divorce law, which comes before the Privy Council in 1843. Its object is to make divorce more difficult, and there is the strongest opposition to it in the Press. Even the Prince of Prussia thinks it dangerous. "This Bill", he writes, "which has such a noble purpose, but is so objectionable in its details, has become a veritable calamity, for it has led to differences which are most deplorable. The King himself always says that it goes too far and contains more than the people can digest at present. That exactly expresses it. But

why does he not act accordingly? Because the religious fanatics are always preaching to him that the people must digest what they are offered—an excellent but naïve method to which I do not subscribe." He is glad, at all events, of one or two "vigorous demonstrations", such as the steps taken against Herwegh, "which may rally the well disposed", unfortunate as it is that it should have been allowed to come to that. He writes more strongly about Frederick William's mistake to Maria Pavlovna: "*Avec un peu plus de calme, et moins de désir d'étonner le monde tous les quinze jours par quelque procédé inattendu, on aurait évité ces mesures après coup.*"

He adds a German postscript to one of the letters to his mother-in-law, with the same criticisms of his elder brother's peculiarities: "A man with a lively imagination likes to act just as rapidly as he thinks. Even the most conscientious counter-representations made by those called upon to advise him cannot prevail against the will of the Sovereign; in addition to that, he is by nature apt to cherish a good many illusions, so that nothing but personal experience can teach him what others had already foreseen and foretold, and therefore warned him against." He is anxious. "Prussia cannot now be regarded as a peaceful country, nor can it therefore be called powerful and united. It is to be hoped that the monarch may obviate these evils by calmer and more consistent behaviour, and thus restore confidence in Prussia both at home and abroad." He sees that his brother, having a liking for England, is giving Russia the cold shoulder, and already has the same "*cauchemar des coalitions*" which haunts Bismarck four decades later: "If Russia consequently turns her attention to France, it is easy to understand, for an alliance between these two States would make Germany their football, and if once a hostile feeling existed, the only States to whom it would be advantageous would be the two States surrounding Germany. There will be no such alliance, however, while Nicholas lives."

Meanwhile he is indignant with the military theorists, who will allow the *Landwehr* battalions only four days for independent operations when the troops are out for their great annual training. "In short", William writes to Natzmer, "the system which had

already been strained to its utmost limit is now to be wrecked. I have proposed that the inspections should be discontinued altogether rather than be thus crippled." And he guards against Jewish Freemasons. According to the rules of the Prussian Lodges, only Christians can be admitted to membership, is the answer he gives them.

The Conservatives fall into the habit of looking upon the Prince of Prussia as their advocate with the Throne. Arnim says: "There is a most estimable man at the head of the Ministry, who considers that it has become his business to defend the existing conditions with the utmost pertinacity." William's hair grows greyer with annoyance over the people's representatives and the King's dissolutions of the Diet. "The debates that were carried on for two months on these dissolutions were sometimes very lively, and gave me a few more grey hairs. *Dieu veuille qu'on reste conséquent dans les principes qu'on vient d'énoncer.*" Frederick William is inconsistent in everything; he does not see things from a practical point of view, which is a misfortune for him. In August, after Tschech's murderous attack, William writes to the brother-in-law, Charles Alexander: 'Although our gratitude to God for the marvellous preservation of the King and Queen is boundless, yet there is a feeling of shame, of grief, that such a thing should be possible in Prussia—a weight that nothing in the world can ever lift from our minds. The blot on our history is indelible. God help us in future." Then the Prince and Princess of Prussia pay a visit to the English Court, where Victoria and Albert overwhelm them with honours. Wellington, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, whose acquaintance William had made twenty-nine years ago, confers a doctor's degree upon him.

In January 1845 he has a long talk with Gerlach about the question of the Constitution. The General ought to have told him what his brother proposed doing; the latter had told him nothing, but had confided his plans to Metternich, the King of Würtemberg, and the Tsar. Nicholas already sees the spectre of revolution and raises recruits; for, he says, "what is going on in the countries adjoining me in the west compels me to be prepared for all emergencies". The Prince of Prussia reminds

his brother that, according to the terms of their father's will, he is bound to consult the agnates; he protests in a letter thirty sheets long. The King reprimands him severely, and excludes him from the deliberations. William talks to Gerlach of a counter-project: about a hundred and fifty deputies elected from the provincial Diets to be recognized as a representative assembly, without the right of petition or of voting supply; and two Chambers, no House of Lords. "The Prince", Gerlach reports, "quoted Wellington, Peel, and Aberdeen, who had advised him to warn the King against taking English conditions as a guide, and against the democratic elements in the Constitution with which they now had to contend in England. The Prince told the King this, and a good deal more in the letter the Princess had copied, which he read to me. My great object was to restrain the Prince from acting over-hastily."

In November William obstinately persisted in handing his brother a memorandum "with deep emotion". Prussia's political and geographical position as a Great Power in the alliance of European States, and as a component part of the German Federation, did not permit of the monarch's freedom to act being restricted by constitutional institutions. At the same time Prussia was not satisfied with those whose change into constitutional bodies was contemplated. "The deliberations of all three representative assemblies are purely consultative; there must never be a question of any kind of right to vote supplies." This opinion is examined by the Constitutional Committee and set aside. At the best William is at heart only in favour of sham concessions; and here he goes so far as to deviate from his usual rectitude. "*Néanmoins*", he writes to Maria Pavlovna, "*l'organisation sur le papier d'une assemblée prévue par la loi du* 17 *janvier* 20 *me paraît nécessaire pour vider la question.*" When the Commission and the Ministry, over which he presides, declare in favour of a United Parliament in December 1846, he opposes it, on the ground that the Crown is in jeopardy. And he speaks as an agnate and the father of his son Fritz, who is now seventeen: "But I am impelled by yet another duty, the thought of my son. In accordance with God's inscrutable decree, it seems certain that the Crown will pass to my descendants. It is therefore a

sacred duty to take care that it is handed down to the heirs to the throne with undiminished rights and with the same dignity and power that I see before me to-day." The opinion he expresses to the Tsar is that although it is true that the scheme involves summoning all the eight hundred deputies, none of them will care to take part in the deliberation of such a "*chambre monstre*", and that consequently no one will put it to the test.

In January 1847 he still considers it impossible for the Royal Princes to be members of the United Parliament; they cannot and ought not to be exposed to the turbulence of a great political assembly, where unrestrained vent is given to all the different political passions. And yet it was about this time that he is said to have remarked to Major von Vincke-Olbendorf, a retired Staff officer, that those who regarded the efforts made by the people to better their position as revolutionary were just the ones who made revolutions. "It is the duty of the Government to put itself at the head of the movement and guide it." The only question was how far the movement should be carried.

He comes round gradually. At a meeting of the Committee towards the end of January 1847 he says reluctantly but with pious resignation: "There will be a new Prussia. The old one will be buried with the publication of this Constitution. May the new Prussia be as great and illustrious as the famous and glorious Prussia that is passing away." In a letter to Maria Pavlovna he tells her that by making mutual concessions he and the King had reached an agreement, but he adds that he trembles for the future of Prussia. He signs the decrees. To Bodelschwingh: "The deed is done. May God give it His blessing." In April stones are thrown at his windows. He speaks on ten occasions in the Diet. As the King's chief subject by birth, and his chief counsellor officially, he gives a solemn assurance that neither of them had felt uneasy about the ordinances, their wish was that rights and liberties should not be conceded at the cost of the rights and liberties of the Crown. There would be no seats in the Assembly for officers who had been dismissed by Courts of Honour. On the Customs Union. On the election of secretaries for the Diet. On restriction of the Salt Monopoly. On the *itio in partes*, Berlin having proposed that the Diets should sit

separately according to circumstances. On the request of the Diet that it should meet periodically, which he said must depend on the King's experience: "This is the cautious, consequently the wise course." To change the Constitution was a Royal prerogative. The Diet was not competent to discuss or give an opinion on foreign policy. Representative rights were only for Christians belonging to the Evangelical and Catholic Churches, not for members of the "tolerated" religious denominations, "so to speak, drifting churchmen".

In a letter to his cousin Adalbert he speaks of Vincke's adherents' refusal to vote as "a serious instance of disobedience whose consequences are incalculable". In January 1848 Twelfth-day festivities at the Court, in the Queen's apartments. Fritz reads a "charming" address from the throne composed by Curtius, "*avec beaucoup de noblesse*". Then a ball. In March the Prince of Prussia is to go to the Western Provinces, as Governor of the Rhinelands and Westphalia, in view of the possibility that they may be infected by the spirit responsible for the Paris revolution in February. On the 13th he takes leave of the Guards. But he is obliged to remain.

THE MARCH REVOLUTION IN BERLIN

ON THE 24TH OF FEBRUARY Louis Philippe escapes from Paris. Three days later the Duke of Nassau, who has been driven out, arrives in Berlin bringing the first news of it. Frederick William IV immediately writes to Queen Victoria of England in great trepidation: "The consequences for world peace are clear and certain. If the revolutionary party carry out their programme, my relatively unimportant Crown will be shattered, but so will Your Majesty's more powerful Crown, and a terrible scourge will be inflicted on the nations: a century of turmoil, lawlessness, and godlessness will follow. The late King did not venture to write 'by the grace of God'. We, however, call ourselves King 'by the grace of God' because it is true. Well, then, most gracious Queen, let us now show the people, the nations threatened with disruption and untold misery, that we know our sacred duty and how to do it." The Great Powers are jointly to declare themselves against the French Republic (to which Palmerston gives an assurance of the "most cordial friendship"): "On my knees I implore you to make England work for the good of Europe." On the 28th of February the passers by Unter den Linden show signs of uneasiness; when a policeman appears, they separate. On the 4th of March there are street demonstrations. On Monday the 6th, Frederick William's speech on the adjournment of the Provincial Diet: "Stand together like a wall of bronze, with unfailing confidence in your King, your best friend." They are to show the world that in Prussia "the King, the people, and the army are the same from generation to generation."

This is the Monday on which the meetings begin in the vicinity of the public-houses and restaurants known as the *Zelte* (tents), on the bank of the river. On the 8th the air is charged with electricity, which reacts on the Exchange. On the 9th troops march to the *Zelte*. The Pariser Platz is resplendent with two squadrons of Life Guards. After dark the Minister von Bodelschwingh rides about in the uniform of a *Landwehr* Major. A noisy crowd of about two hundred people march through the Brandenburg Gate, singing. The Minister says, speaking sharply

to them: "You ought not to make such a noise in the streets late at night." They reply: "What business is that of yours? We are free now, and do as we choose. Do you know that?" Bodelschwingh hurries off.

On the 10th the Prince of Prussia writes to his mother-in-law: "*Ce n'est que le nord de l'Allemagne qui tient encore.*" On that day there is a revolution in Vienna. A letter of the 13th from William to someone unknown says: "The deputation" (representatives of the Breslau magistrates had been to see him and his brother) "was very graciously received by the King, and I talked to the deputies *à cœur ouvert*, but Heaven only knows what will come of it all. Thanks to a bloodless revolution and the weakness of Princes, Germany has arrived where Louis Philippe began in 1830. It is now evident how consistently the Radicals have worked. And, to crown all, a National Guard! This and the free Press will very soon make Germany a Republic."

On the afternoon of the 13th the Chief Police Officer, Minutoli, informs the Governor of Berlin, General von Pfuel, that, in view of the impudent and defiant attitude of the working classes, it will be necessary to occupy the Castle, provide a company for the town prison, strengthen the guard at the Brandenburg Gate, protect the State prison at Moabit, and station cavalry between the Dorotheenstrasse and the Anhaltstrasse. Immense crowds round the *Zelte* in the moonlit night; speakers try to climb on to the bandstands. Suddenly shouts of "Soldiers! Soldiers!" the tramp of horses, squadrons of Cuirassiers, with drawn swords. They drive the unresisting crowd before them. It gets blocked outside the Castle. "Away with the soldiers!" It disperses. On the 14th the town councillors and magistrates are received in audience by the King, who promises that the United Parliament shall meet. "Courage and caution"—those were the watchwords of every good General. On the 15th light barricades in the Schlossplatz, the Breitenstrasse, and the Bruderstrasse. Stones are thrown at the sentries. Bodelschwingh, who is now more sensible, urges His Majesty to take reforms in hand in order to avert disaster, and not to attempt it with the old forces, the Diets that had hitherto existed. The Chief Police Officer reports to the Government: "The rabble will either give in or be destroyed."

On Thursday, the 16th of March, rioting in Unter den Linden in the afternoon: "Away with the soldiers!" The officer of the New Guard orders the drums to be sounded. Rifle-fire. Two killed and several wounded. The people take to their heels, shrieking, groaning, and cursing. In the early hours of the morning a dispatch arrives from the Prussian Legation in Vienna, brought by a King's Messenger; it is handed to the Prince of Prussia at ten o'clock. He goes to see the Foreign Minister, and has an interview with him. He says: "There is nothing left to be done but to put oneself at the head of the movement." He then goes on to see the War Minister, von Rohr; two and a half silver groschens for every soldier who turns out. He writes to his brother, who is at Potsdam, and sends Major von Oelrichs, an officer on the General Staff, to him. The Major finds the monarch in a little room where he is graciously occupied in drying his socks and pocket-handkerchiefs. He is amazed. The letter, which deals with what has happened in Vienna, makes no impression on His Majesty. "Come and have some soup with us, my dear Oelrichs", says Frederick William IV, interrupting the reading of the letter. The dinner is small, no one being present, besides the persons on duty, except Count Redern, superintendent of the theatre. The King suddenly asks whether no one can tell him anything definite about the reports that are being circulated of what is said to have occurred in Vienna. Oelrichs says he thinks the Government dispatches must have already reached His Majesty. The King: "Good heavens! I have had nothing at all. This is really a dog's life; no one in the world is as badly served as I am. We must find out at once where the dispatches are. I thought that what the Prince said merely referred to what might possibly happen." The papers, which have been posted from the Chancellery, as usual, instead of being sent by express messenger to Potsdam, are brought in. The King reads them, pushes away a dish which is handed to him, and merely says: "It is really too bad. I can't eat any more." He decides to go to Berlin; if the town is already unsafe, only to the station. At six o'clock, the moment when the firing is going on at the Guard House, he is at the Castle in Berlin.

On the 17th an Order in Council is published, in which he

thanks all the troops who have taken part in putting down the rioters for their exemplary behaviour, their endurance, and the discipline shown. Bodelschwingh telegraphs to the Kölln *Regierungspräsident*: "The rabble paraded the streets in gangs for three evenings in succession. The middle classes succeeded in pacifying them. Since yesterday all has been quiet, and there is no sign of any renewal of the disturbances." On the 18th March a demonstration by the association for the protection of the middle classes is expected. Bodelschwingh objects to it, but in spite of that a large crowd assembles on the Schlossplatz to hear the speeches. It is said that the Cologne people residing in Berlin, who want to see Frederick William IV, threaten the secession of the Rhine Provinces. A change of Ministry is impending. A Cabinet Council is held in the King's apartments. The public are embittered because soldiers from the Potsdam garrison are bivouacked in the Castle yard. At half-past one the King appears on the balcony. He wishes to speak. The Burgomaster Naunyn, who stands beside him, announces in a loud voice that the King is in favour of Press freedom, of summoning the Diet to meet on the 2nd of April, of a Constitution on the most Liberal principles, a German national flag, abolition of all customs barriers in Germany, and (in the words of Prince William) he wishes Prussia to lead the movement. The townspeople, but not the working class, cheer. The King waves his handkerchief. Bodelschwingh thanks them on his behalf. When Frederick William has gone in, the crowd shout: "Away with the soldiers!" General von Prittwitz is in command instead of General von Pfuel, who has left the Castle. At two o'clock the King orders him to clear the Schlossplatz with a squadron of dragoons at walking pace, and "put an end to the noise going on there".

The horses shy in the crowd. Captain von Borstell draws his sword; some of the dragoons do the same. Leaving the scene of action, they advance from the corner of the Breitenstrasse towards the Langebrücke, Major Vogel von Falkenstein with a covering platoon of infantry. Two rifles go off, with the muzzles pointing upwards. Prince William observes it from a window of the Castle, and says: "Dear me, two rifles have gone off in the air. It is to be hoped that no one has been wounded in the houses

over there; the windows are full of people." The people are frantic. Shouts are heard in every direction: "To the towers. To the alarm bells!" Barricades are erected, the pavement is torn up, bullets are cast in the streets. A portrait-painter, who works for the Court, designs a banner with the inscription: "It is a misunderstanding. The King desires our welfare." Wherever he shows himself the crowd shout: "Away with the soldiers!" He forces his way into the Castle yard. "What does this mean?" the Prince of Prussia asks, taking him by the shoulders. "Tell the people that they would be no patriots if my soldiers had to go back." There is fighting in the Königstrasse. The guns fail to destroy a strong barricade. Pickets of Foot Guards. Frightful bloodshed.

Towards seven o'clock the Königstrasse is taken by the soldiers. Fighting in the Alexanderplatz, on the Friedrichbrücke, in the Jägerstrasse, in the Friedrichstrasse. The infantry take the barricades, after shelling them. The Kölln Town Hall is stormed in the cool moonlight night. Brutal slaughter by the victors. Prittwitz holds the centre. The Prince of Prussia is with a battery of artillery beside a lamp-post on the Schlossplatz with Gerlach. "I told him", the latter relates, "that I was glad it had come to fighting again, as we had the enemy facing us this time, not beneath us as in the morning. He thought the King had a right to withdraw all his concessions now."

Frederick William's nerves give way. Over there in the Castle he hides his face in his hands and winces each time a gun is fired. "No", he says, "it cannot be; my people love me." Elizabeth says: "If only the King does not give in!" But he does give in. He is advised to do so by George von Vincke, the member of the Diet, and Prittwitz, who gives him pessimistic reports, as the great object of the military party is to get him out of Berlin. Early in the morning of the 19th the King sends Bodelschwingh a proclamation with a few lines: "Dearest Bodelschwingh, if you approve of the address to the Berlin people on the opposite page, and think no harm can come of it, get it printed at once and have thousands of copies of it distributed. God be with you and with us all. Make any correction you think advisable in my poor composition." "Your King and truest friend"—thus he appeals to

his "dear Berlin people"—"entreats you, by all you hold sacred, to recognize the fatal mistake. Return to the path of peace, clear away the barricades that are still standing, and send me men, animated by the true Berlin spirit, with suggestions which can fittingly be made to your King, and I give you my Royal word that the troops shall be immediately withdrawn from all the streets and open spaces, and that none but the necessary buildings, the Castle, the arsenal, and a few others shall be occupied by the military, and even these only for a short time." His subjects are to forget what he is willing to forget: "Your beloved Queen and truly faithful mother and friend, who lies ill in bed, joins her earnest and tearful entreaties to mine."

At seven o'clock this proclamation is posted on the walls of the houses, and in many cases torn to pieces. Five hundred and seventy prisoners are taken to Spandau and shockingly ill-treated by the soldiers. Conference at the Castle; besides the King, the Prince of Prussia, high officers, Bodelschwingh, and Count Arnim. William writes (March 28th) to his sister Charlotte: "It was decided that wherever a barricade had been levelled by the citizens, this would be regarded as proof of a desire for peace, and the troops would be withdrawn from there." The King is alone with Bodelschwingh and Arnim in his study, adjoining the *Sternensaal*. The Prince's written report: "M. von Bodelschwingh suddenly came into the room where we were all assembled, and talking in a very excited and loud voice, said: 'As the barricades are disappearing, His Majesty orders the troops to be withdrawn from all the streets and open spaces.' I said at once that this was contrary to the terms of the King's proclamation; but the Minister shouted in reply: 'What the King has said must not be altered or misconstrued.' I went on to ask whether we were to understand that the Schlossplatz was included amongst the open spaces, as that was the only one where the retreating troops could be drawn up; but the Minister shouted the same words at me again, and then said: 'And now hurry off, gentlemen, to transmit the King's orders that the troops are to march away with bands playing.' From that moment I did not see M. von Bodelschwingh again; those were his last words. I went to look for the King in what had been Countess Redern's first room,

but did not find him. I found Count Arnim writing, however, and asked him where the King was, and said: 'What are you doing?' He replied: 'I am forming the new Ministry', and I read the names Auerswald, Schwerin. I said: 'But that is just like Guizot and Thiers in Paris; do wait a little longer.' 'No', was the reply, 'there is no time to lose.' "

Then William finds his brother in the dining-room; he seems quite bewildered and denies having given the order. But the Fusilier battalion of the 1st Regiment of Guards is already marching over the Langebrücke, with drums beating, and then crosses the Alexanderbrücke; the people stream after them. The King wants the bridge to be shut, but it is too late. William goes to Elizabeth's apartments, where his wife is too, and reassures the women, telling them that all the troops are still there, and animated by the best possible spirit. Drums! Amidst the acclamations of the crowd, the 1st Regiment of Guards passes out of gate number one across the Schlossplatz. Someone says that Count Arnim gave the order; half-measures were of no use. The War Minister von Rohr throws his cocked hat on the table and exclaims: "Count Arnim must answer for that." The Prince: "All is lost now." The armed proletarians jeer at the troops on their way to the barracks.

The King goes on to the balcony of the Castle and speaks. From the crowd: "Release the prisoners!" The King promises that. Just as he is going in, he turns round: "I have something more to say to you. When you have got the prisoners back, see whether you will want to keep them." A few laugh, others shake their fists at him. Inside the Castle he sinks on to a chair in a state of apathy. Dead bodies are brought into the Castle on shutters, biers, and handcarts. The people bare their heads; a chorale is sung. A cart with six or seven corpses drives into the inner courtyard of the Castle. The people shout: "The King!" He appears with Elizabeth in the lobby at the top of the winding staircase. They start singing *Jesus, meine Zuversicht*, and show him the victims. He salutes them, wearing his grey cloak over the uniform of a General. Elizabeth murmurs: "Nothing is lacking now but the guillotine."

BACK AGAIN BEHIND the glass door the King cannot make up his mind to anything, not even to escape. The military men want to escort the King and Queen out of Berlin with the seven companies still there, forcing a way through the Brandenburg Gate. Prince William is in favour of this proposal, and as the aide-de-camp, Colonel von Schröter, reports that there is not a moment to be lost, the officers wrap themselves in their cloaks. General Neumann volunteers to escort the monarchs to Potsdam in the midst of the troops with bands playing. Prittwitz says that he will hold Berlin, even without reinforcements, for another twenty-four to thirty-six hours. The elder Count Pourtalès conducts the Queen through the Castle, whilst his son waits with a carriage on the outskirts of the Tiergarten. Frederick William hastens through several rooms, hardly seeming to know what he is doing. Arnim stops him at the staircase and implores him not to go on: "No Hohenzollern has ever yet run away from danger." Frederick William turns back, half-unconscious. He gives his cloak to the servant. "Arnim will not let us go", Elizabeth complains. Then she sees the state her husband is in, and says that he need not do anything that does not seem to him right. A detachment of the new Citizen Guard, who have been given rifles by the superintendent of the arsenal, undertake to guard the Castle. Dinner is served at small tables, and they hope to gain time.

During dinner news comes that the anger of the Berlin people is now turning against the Prince of Prussia, as the bloodhound who is responsible for the collision between the soldiers and civilians. His palace is like an hotel, with all the coming and going. The Prince hears that a deputation will come towards evening to request him to resign his succession to the throne. He writes to his brother: "If I can help you by remaining here, and renouncing my succession to the throne, tell me so, and I will do it; but if I cannot help you by doing that, then I will go away." Augusta now urges him to go. Half an hour later she and the Princes Adalbert and Waldemar are in the King's anteroom. They are all thinking of 1792, of Versailles and the

Tuileries. William has declared, with the approval of Major von Königsmarck, in particular, that his place is here; he will die here. Then he is sent for by the King, who commands him to leave the Castle. It would be hopeless to think of protecting him against the hatred of the people; his presence only made the King's position worse. He will send him to England, and, in order to uphold his prestige, on a mission to Victoria.

The Princess of Prussia had already asked Major von Oelrichs to take her children, Fritz and Louise, to Potsdam, where her brothers-in-law, Charles and Albert, and their families are staying. It is about three o'clock. Oelrichs finds an old carriage between the Cathedral and the Castle, with no coat-of-arms, ordinary harness and a coachman in plain clothes. He arrives at the gateway leading to the Lustgarten with the children and Fräulein von May. The coachman drives at a trot; the crowd stare in astonishment at the carriage, but nothing happens. Their destination is the Bellevuestrasse. They reach Oelrich's apartment, 13 Potsdamerstrasse, by the back entrance. The young Prince is warned, but in spite of that he shows himself at the window in uniform. The landlord is afraid the people will storm the house. Oelrichs sends his groom to the Potsdam station to order a cab for the seven o'clock train. When it is dark, they drive there, all four packed into one cab. A frightful crowd of refugees at the station. The train does not go till eight. Oelrichs sees the children safely into the Castle at Potsdam. At eleven o'clock at night he is back in Berlin. An occasional shot is heard in the street. Remains of barricades and shattered gas-lamps. At the Prince of Prussia's palace, which is barred by a sentry, he asks a servant where their Royal Highnesses are. They have left, and the servant does not know where they have gone.

What had happened, about eight o'clock, while it was still twilight, was as follows: The Prince and Princess leave the Castle by a side staircase, he dressed as a footman and she as a lady's-maid. Exhausted soldiers lie huddled up on the steps, regardless of the sharp voice of an officer. The Prince and Princess make their way on foot through the crowd to the Behrenstrasse. In the courtyard of the palace a hired vehicle is harnessed; they seat themselves in it with Countess Haake and Bettina's daughter,

Countess Oriola. The Pariser Platz is empty. They want to go to Oelrichs's apartment, but no one can remember the number of the house. Countess Haake proposes going to where Freiherr von Schleinitz lives. There the carriage door is opened by Major von Vincke-Olbendorf. He lends the Prince a waistcoat, and Schleinitz provides other articles of dress. They change carriages and go on to Spandau (Countess Haake does not accompany them), to the *Schwarzer Bär*. The Prince sends a message to the Colonel in command of the Reserve Battalion of Guards, and goes alone to the citadel; the sun is just rising. He sees the disarmed Berlin regiments from a window, and tears pour down his cheeks. Then Schleinitz arrives, and Fräulein von Neindorff comes to see the Princess at the *Schwarzer Bär*. The only reason the palace has not been destroyed is because the students had written in large letters on the walls, "National Property." A rumour had spread that the Prince was at Spandau. A public meeting is to be held in the market-place to demonstrate against him, with Jung speaking.

Schleinitz is to go back to the King to ask for instructions. In the evening Lieutenant von Tiegen, dressed as a young peasant, drives the Prince and Princess, Countess Oriola, and a lady's-maid in a cart to Pichelsdorf, on the Havel. The democrat Jung is speaking in the market-place; no one notices them. Two officers, dressed as fishermen, row them across the Havel to the Pfaueninsel, in the moonlight. An officer wakes the gardener, Fintelmann, who does not stir when they knock; then a pane of glass rattles, and the man comes out trembling, in his night attire. In the morning Schleinitz lands with an order from the King. The Prince is to go to London without delay. Prince Charles, the children, and their military governor, General von Unruh, come over from Potsdam. It is decided that the family are to go there for some months. The next day is William's birthday, the 22nd of March; he is fifty-one. Countess Oriola changes her black Court dress for a coloured one belonging to the gardener's stout wife, and presents him with a bouquet of spring flowers. In the afternoon he says good-bye.

Oelrichs, who is at Potsdam, is to go with the Prince. The young Frederick William's tutor gives him a pencilled note with

the words: "The King has charged me with a mission to the Queen of England. You are to accompany me; get passports in the names of two brothers O., and also arms. Send my servants and your own with the heavy luggage to Hamburg by train, and be at the Glienicker bridge at eight o'clock this evening in mufti, ready to start." Oelrichs can get the passports made out by the civil governor; he does not provide arms, being doubtful as to their advantage. He shaves off his beard, puts a couple of hundred talers in his pocket, and, accompanied by the Chamberlain, Count Pückler, proceeds to the *rendezvous* about half-past seven, lugging a travelling-bag with underclothing. A small conveyance, such as those used by commercial travellers, to which a pair of farm-horses belonging to the gardener at the Castle of Babelsberg is harnessed, is standing beneath the trees. The Prince appears, dressed in plain clothes, without a beard, and accompanied by his valet, Krug. He says to the Chamberlain, with tears in his eyes: "What have I done that I should have to leave my country in this way? How is it possible for such loyal people to be so misguided?"

The refugees drive round Potsdam. Now they are at the Russian colony and in the Nauenerstrasse, where they are provided with two post-horses. They agree to call one another William and Augustus. They get as far as Perleberg without having met with any *contretemps*. There they go into the inn to have some coffee. An official, with another young man, opens the door of the room and asks Oelrichs whether he had ordered the post-horses for Grabow. Oelrichs says 'Yes', and wants to know whether there are any difficulties. The official denies that, but at the same time points out that post-horses are not so much in request now that people can travel by rail. He is hardly out of the room when the Prince says: "The fellow recognized me." Oelrichs gives instructions to the valet, and they start to walk along the road to Grabow. A quarter of an hour; no sound of wheels. They turn back towards Perleberg. Krug comes running to meet them. "Your Royal Highness, the people refuse to let the carriage go; they say it belongs to the Prince of Prussia, who wants to escape, and that it ought not to be allowed." Oelrichs goes to the inn alone, and tries to release the carriage. He hastily

ransacks his pockets for compromising papers, and destroys a letter from the Princess begging him not to let the Prince go to St. Petersburg under any circumstances. A little man comes out of the crowd and asks him searching questions. He explains that he and his brother had business in Hamburg and meant to take the train at Grabow. He threatens to claim compensation. The little man replies that no one can take horses out of the country without a permit; it is strictly forbidden. Grabow is in Mecklenburg. Oelrichs shows him his passport. The man thinks there is no doubt that he is a brother of Oelrichs, the Potsdam *Oberregierungsrat*—the likeness is unmistakable—but asks who the other gentleman is. The Major says he is another brother, who lives in Bremen. The little man informs the onlookers that there is nothing at all against the travellers, and says he will have the horses harnessed at once. When the gaping crowd has dispersed, he explains what caused the absurd suspicion: "Prince of Prussia" was written in large letters on one side of a leather bag. Oelrichs was taken aback; then he laughed, and said he had borrowed the bag from a fourth brother, who had been the Prince's staff officer; presumably the Prince's address had been painted on it to distinguish the luggage in general. And he called to the postilion to hurry.

The carriage starts. Every few hundred yards Oelrichs stops it and calls out: "William—here." In vain; the Prince is nowhere to be found. In vain he makes inquiries at the Grabow station and of the watchmen at the gates of the town. As it is one o'clock, Oelrichs goes to an hotel in the market-place, and dines at a table with nine other people, amongst them the landlord and a land inspector. The landlord is a democrat, and says to the guests: "How can the Prince of Prussia give orders to fire on the people! Devil take him for that when he is caught! There is a rumour that he is in the neighbourhood." A guest approaches Oelrichs and stares at him; they think he is the Prince. A number of the townspeople had collected by this time to request him not to leave. Oelrichs smilingly protests that they do him too much honour; the landlord insists on seeing his passport. But the land inspector stands by the stranger. He is a Prussian, and has served in the Alexander regiment. He says the Prince is very

like the gentleman, but is taller. The Major pays and goes to the station, where there are a good many people about. At last William and Krug arrive in a farm-cart. "Good heavens, William!" Oelrichs exclaims, "where were you?" and the Grabow people listen to the conversation. The Prince had lost his way; the Hamburg train had gone. Oelrichs gives the lad on the box a couple of kreuzers as a *pourboire*, and he drives off quickly in the direction of Ludwigslust with his fares. The Prince, who has been threatened with another Varennes, relates his adventures. He had fled from riders who were galloping towards him on the road, jumped ditches, waded through wet meadows, climbed over hedges, and revealed his identity to the pastor, Behrens, who had taken him to his brother, a forester. The farm-cart had brought him safely to Grabow by bypaths through the forest.

In the afternoon they are at Ludwigslust, in a villa belonging to Duke Gustavus of Mecklenburg, who is very much surprised. He gives orders that the Prince and Oelrichs are to be driven as far as Hagenow in a light carriage. The Duke's agent and Krug are sent on in advance to reserve a compartment at the station. They arrive there at eight o'clock, and get into the train. The Prince sits in half-darkness, Oelrichs in the light. At the first station a man stares at the Major. His name is Fritz; he is constructing the Hamburg railway, and is a loyal subject of the King. At Hamburg thousands of people assemble whenever a train comes in, and curse the Prince. He would be willing to conduct him through a side door of the station to some small hotel. He goes away, and Oelrichs consults the Prince. They decide to trust the man. By his orders the carriage is uncoupled at Bergedorf. At midnight they lie down to sleep in two attic rooms in an inn, the Prince on a sofa, fully dressed. An hour later there is knocking at the door of the house, and a voice: "Are there people here from Berlin?" Oelrichs strikes a light and hurries to the Prince. He finds the intruder with him, Vincke Olbendorf, who has thrown himself, breathless, into a chair. "The fellow gave me such a fright", William complains, "that I thought I should have a heart attack. Give me a glass of water." Vincke says that the King has given him a message for His Royal Highness. But Vincke is accompanied by the Prussian Consul-

General Oswald and the Vice-Consul Stägemann, who have driven to Bergedorf from Hamburg, having been informed of the Prince's arrival by the station-master.

The Prince is to embark early the next morning, the 25th of March, for London, on the steamer *John Bull*; it is now the 24th, 2 a.m. Oswald drives away with him, to conceal him in his house at Hamburg. Oelrichs puts up at the Hôtel de l'Europe with Vincke, and communicates with the Prince's servants at Streit's hotel. He goes on board the *John Bull*. His brother is ill, he tells the steward, and must have a cabin to himself. £2 to the Englishman settles the matter. The Prince of Prussia takes up his quarters on the steamer. Stägemann writes a few words to the Captain on a visiting-card: "Captain is requested to give all possible assistance to the bearer of the present card, Major O., who will inform him of the high rank of one of the passengers on board the *John Bull*." The Prince has a last interview with Vincke. He says that he has acted from a profound sense of duty, but he fully recognizes that the old system has become impossible. He will honestly and sincerely concur in all that the King may do or to which he may consent in the interest of national freedom, the new era. He expresses a wish to co-operate in this new work. He indignantly rejects the idea of taking up arms against his country, or encouraging other Powers to do so, like the Stuarts or the Bourbons. Then those who have accompanied him leave the ship.

It is a fine morning. Cuxhaven and the mouth of the Elbe are soon left far behind in the mist. In spite of his incognito the Prince breakfasts and lunches at the general table. Towards evening the wind gets up. The *émigré* remains in bed, and for hours watches the pendulum of his clock swinging.

AT FOUR O'CLOCK in the morning, on the 27th of March, the *John Bull* casts anchor in London, opposite the Custom-house, and the Prince is rowed to the shore in a boat between two confectioners' journeymen from Bremen. A cab is taken from the Tower to Fenchurch Street, to the Consulate, where the Consul-General, Habler, has not yet arrived, and thence to Carlton House Terrace, the Prussian Legation. Oelrichs asks the porter to announce that a person of very high rank has arrived from Berlin in the *John Bull*. They wait patiently in the reception-room. Then the secretary, Prince Löwenstein, appears, entirely unprepared, and apologizes humbly when the Prince greets him.

Von Bunsen jumps out of bed, dresses hastily, and goes to the reception-room. He is a courteous, sensible host, and is strongly in favour of the Prince's arrival being officially announced, without any appearance of secrecy, for England is the land of publicity. Consequently letters are sent to Lord Palmerston to inquire when the Prince Consort can see his Prussian cousin (Victoria had given birth to her sixth child, Princess Louise, on the 18th of March), and to *The Times*. Oelrichs and Löwenstein go off to the Custom-house, where the examination is very strict, although a notice from the Legation certifies that the luggage belongs to the Prince of Prussia. Every trunk, every bag is thoroughly searched. Oelrichs is furious, and asks if they are taken for smugglers. The official flushes, but he even looks into a leather umbrella-case. But two gentlemen-in-waiting in uniform are already at Carlton House Terrace, and invite the Prince to an audience at two o'clock. State carriages drive up. The *émigré* is ushered through the rooms of Buckingham Palace. He also pays a quarter of an hour's visit to Victoria.

He then takes up his abode at the Legation, and his suite grows gradually larger. His second aide-de-camp, Captain von Berg, arrives, having deposited the Crown jewels and the jewellery he had brought over belonging to the Queen and the Princesses, under seal at Hull, to avoid payment of duty; then Captain von Boyen, Count Goltz, and, as diplomatic agent, Count Albert Pourtalès. Ernest Bunsen, the Minister's second son, who is married to the

daughter of a rich Quaker in London named Gurney, acts as a sort of Chamberlain. At breakfast Bunsen's wife, *née* Waddington, fetches an arm-chair for the Prince, and puts him in the post of honour at the table, but he pushes it away and sits on another. "We must practise humility now", he says, "for thrones are tottering."

That is the impression made by the latest news from Berlin, where Captain von Berg is summoned to return. Frederick William had ridden across the Schlossplatz and Schlossfreiheit, past the Guard House, down the Behrenstrasse and the Linden, through the Königstrasse to the Alexanderplatz, and through the Breitestrasse to the Kölln Town Hall, with the Ministers and the Citizen Guard, wearing the black, red, and gold band round his arm. He had pledged his Royal word, in a voice choked with tears, that the Prince of Prussia was innocent. "My brother is a soldier through and through. Absolutely upright and straightforward by nature, he does not understand how to flatter the masses and make himself popular, but I can most solemnly assure you that it was he who gave his full consent to the new course on which we have thought it right to embark, in the interest of our people's happiness." Then the State funeral of those who had fallen in March, the procession from the Gendarmenmarkt past the entrance to the Castle. Frederick William stands on the balcony, bareheaded, until the coffins covered with black, red, and gold flags have gone by. The King had "very willingly consented" to the troops from Potsdam and the neighbourhood being marched back to Berlin, "at the wish of the veterinary surgeon Urban", who brought this communication, written and signed by the King himself, to the Chief of the Police, Minutoli. But he says to the officers in the *Marmorsaal* of the New Palace: "I have never been freer and safer than under the protection of my citizens." A murmur is raised and sabres are rattled.

Without being a Comte d'Artois, William is soon irresistibly drawn into Society life in London—dinners, receptions, and balls almost every day. In the first week in April the Berlin police send word that two or three individuals, red republicans, are on their way to London to assassinate the Prince. Palmerston orders

a careful watch to be kept on the Legation, and a detective walks fifty paces behind His Royal Highness in the street. The Prince would rather be unobserved, and sometimes he succeeds in escaping. He often spends an evening with the Taglionis, the dancers, Paul Taglioni, who has been in Berlin for the last twenty years, and Amalie Galster; they are in London on a professional visit, with their fifteen-year-old daughter Marie, who has made a brilliant début. But Prince William, who thoroughly appreciates Marie's beauty, is also in touch with Berlin through political correspondence. "What have we not gone through since we last met", he writes to Otto von Manteuffel, the Conservative Head of the House Ministry. "What is lost is lost. Prussia may long regret it, but it cannot be recovered. It is to be hoped that no attempt of the kind will be made. It is the duty of every patriot to feel confidence in the new Prussia and help to rebuild it, even though it may cost a great effort to help to rebuild what had been an independent State of the first rank as a State of secondary rank. To be unable to be of service to my country in this crisis, and prove by my actions even more than by my well-known character that I have been shamefully maligned and am the victim of a miserable intrigue—that is most painful to me."

Frederick William's proclamation of March 21st, in which he ordered that the German black, red, and gold cockade should be worn by his army together with the Prussian colours, ended with the sentence: "Henceforward Prussia is merged in Germany." Resigning himself to this watchword, the Prince says in a letter to Manteuffel: "Consequently institutions are now suitable for Prussia as well as Germany, which, in my opinion, were never suited to her in the past. Time will show that I shall devote all my energies to my country, even under these new conditions, if, indeed, I am to be allowed to return at all; it is true that there is no longer any place for me in a responsible Ministry." Major von Orlich, a former Prussian officer, who has been to India as a guest of the British Army, and is married to an Englishwoman, calls on the Prince at the Legation, and reports to Natzmer that he is very far from thinking of a reaction. "It is true that he is not at all hopeful about the future, but he has not lost heart."

In April it looks like revolution in London. The Chartists want to coerce the Government into passing the Franchise Reform Bill by marching on the Houses of Parliament in several columns, which are to assemble at Clapham Common. The task of keeping down the working men is entrusted to the Duke of Wellington. A combined force of about 6,000 police from London and other towns is raised, bodies of special constables are formed from the upper and middle classes, 1,500 sailors with grappling-irons are ordered up from Portsmouth, and artillery from Woolwich. The 60th Regiment is quartered at Kensington, "to try a new system of street firing", as a Conservative newspaper cynically remarks. The Queen goes to Osborne with her family. Before leaving she begs the Duke of Wellington to have pity on the poor deluded people, and spare them as far as possible, and the Field-Marshal replies: "The truest sympathy with the deluded people is ruthless severity with the law-breakers."

On the 9th of April the soldiers are drawn up in the courtyards of the Government buildings, where they cannot be seen. The Chartist leaders recognize that the forces against them are too strong, and consequently the hungry crowds of working men, exhausted by their combined march, agree to let the franchise petition, which is almost too heavy for six men and a cart, be handed to Parliament. Towards two o'clock this is done quite peaceably. English society breathes freely, and Prince William has no further scruple in accepting the Duchess of Kent's invitation to stay at her country house, Frogmore, where there are forcing-houses and fruit gardens in full bloom. At a diplomatic dinner in Carlton House Terrace, Brunow, the Russian Minister, is missing. This is insulting to the Prince of Prussia, but Brunow excuses himself on the ground of his antipathy to Bunsen, who had said that the Tsar must release Poland. Another *émigré* is present, quite privately, with his wife, a Herr von Meyer, in reality Prince Metternich, who has been driven out of Austria.

A proposal is made in Berlin to dismiss the Prince from the State service and from the army. He complains to Maria Pavlovna of the "*calomnie bien noire*" and of the "intrigue" against him, and he writes to Charles Alexander: "It is too sad to have the experience that falls to my lot of people who have to resort to

lies and slander in order to take away a man's good name and ruin him. Shall I ever be able to go back to my own house?" he asks. "That is a wretched business too." But simultaneously with these efforts, Royalists are doing their best to enable him to return, and his own behaviour is unimpeachable. He thanks the "loyal Pomeranians" for an address from the Belgard *Kreistag*, which he has read with "pleasure and emotion", and says that, as a member of the State Ministry, he has ratified the King's patent of March the 18th, which promises the Prussian people "the aforesaid Constitution", and has thereby pledged himself to safeguard it. "You also know me well enough to be sure that I shall be true to my word." He hopes he may soon be in Berlin in person. He writes to General von Gerlach, whom he reminds of their last conversation, standing beneath the lamp-post with the battery: "I see no way out, unless something very special happens. I bear my banishment, if it may be so called, with all the courage and endurance of a clear conscience." And although he objects to the "fifty employees" of the Frankfurt Government, and speaks of everything being upside down and of "many broken hearts", he writes quite as a rational Constitutionalist in this letter to Gerlach.

He only adheres to Prussian principles when writing as a soldier, as, for instance, in a few lines of thanks to General von Tümpling: "A reasoning body of soldiers is no longer a body of soldiers, as the old Duke of Wellington very truly says, but an armed, undisciplined mob." In the meantime he approves of Dahlmann's draft Constitution for the German Empire, which Frederick William and the Prince Consort have rejected, which creates a lax federal system, and gives the Prussian Crown the hereditary right to the German Imperial Crown. It is true that he objects to monarchs being members of the Upper House, on the ground that the Sovereign cannot take part in public debates with his subjects and might be outvoted by them, and a "Bench of Princes" would be the right thing. He also objects to the period of three months that is to elapse after a dissolution of Parliament before it can be summoned to meet again, and to the proposal that all regimental and staff officers shall be nominated by the head of the German Empire. But he

Queen Victoria with her Attendant, John Brown,
Balmoral (1869)

praises the Liberal professor's work as a "masterpiece of clearness, soundness, and brevity". Prussia is at war with Denmark, on behalf of the people of Schleswig-Holstein, although Frederick William regards them as "rebels". Germany is indulging in what Oelrichs calls "naval dreams". The Prince goes down to Portsmouth with him to inspect the new Royal Naval screw steamers, *Plumser* and *Buldot*, bitten, Oelrichs thinks, by the "prevailing mania".

On the 16th of May Prince William hears that he is to go to The Hague, as a first step towards returning home. A Ministerial decision is impending. On the 30th he is in Brussels. In a farewell letter of thanks to Bunsen he says: "Painful as the time was, there is certainly no other country in the world that can give the peace and comfort at such a moment that I found in England. I felt this most strongly. God grant that I may reap the benefit of all that I gained there in the stirring times before me; in that case the time I unwillingly spent there will not have been wasted." While still in Brussels he writes to the King: "I trust that the free institutions which Your Majesty has now summoned the representatives of the people to establish on a firmer basis may, with God's gracious help, prove more and more beneficial to Prussia. I shall devote all my energies, with confidence and loyalty, to this end, and look forward to the time when I shall abide by the Constitution Your Majesty is now about to grant, after due deliberation, in such manner as it shall prescribe for the heir to the throne."

At Wesel, on the Belgian side of the Prussian frontier, he is welcomed by the magistrate and the officers of the garrison on the 4th of June. He again insists that he is returning with a clear conscience. "I have always hoped that the day of truth would dawn, and it has dawned. Much has changed in our country since I left. The King wished it; the King's wish is sacred to me. I am his leading subject, and I accept the new conditions whole-heartedly; but there must be justice, order, and law, no anarchy. I shall do my utmost to prevent that; it is my calling. Those of you who have known me know how devoted I have always been to my country, and can imagine the emotion I feel and what pleasure this cordial reception must give me."

Prince William sacrifices his three aides-de-camp to the existing political ideas. Oelrichs takes leave of him, and goes direct to Potsdam as a King's Messenger, taking the Prussian Crown jewels with him. He has an audience of the King at Sanssouci, and of the Princess of Prussia at the Castle in Berlin. He has to wait an hour before being admitted to her presence.

THE REACTION

A SONG COMPOSED by Gaudy and sung by the Guards in Schleswig-Holstein describes the exiled Hohenzollern as a "loyal and chivalrous Prince" and a "much-loved General". But the wrath against him continues very violent for some months. In the night of April 2nd, Frederick William IV wrote to Camphausen, who had been Prime Minister since the 28th of March, and Auerswald, who had been appointed Minister for Home Affairs in Arnim's time: "The occupation of my brother's (the Prince of Prussia's) palace by a number of totally unauthorized persons is a high-handed proceeding that is quite unparalleled in the history of Germany and Prussia. This public scandal must cease. As King and head of the family I request and command that after the next few days no more strangers shall be tolerated in my dear, infamously and knowingly slandered brother's house, and that it be handed over, without any ostentation, to Count Pückler and Hofrath Borck, both of whom are in my brother's service. I desire you both to make preparations for handing over the house at once. For the present the house must continue to be guarded by the Citizen Guard." The peasants in West Prussia protest still less civilly than their ruler. Robert Prutz receives threatening letters from them worded as follows: "The Prince of Prussia has had to fly from your malice, and unless you see that the Prince is restored to his rights and his country by the 24th of May, you shall make the acquaintance of the West Prussians, for your den of thieves shall be set on fire in a hundred places at once. We peasants are not going to feed you in order that your progeny may destroy us." In spite of this, the Ministerial decision in favour of William produces disturbances in Berlin.

Frederick William hears of the "fine project of a demonstration against the Ministers", and from Sanssouci he appeals to Camphausen and his colleagues, again as their "best and truest friend": "Berlin is not Paris, and the Brandenburg Mark is not France. Remember that one step backwards puts the succession to the throne, and consequently the throne itself, in jeopardy. Therefore none of you must think of resigning, for God's sake. It would be unpardonable, even if it were only a question of a Berlin

demonstration, but you would be giving up the throne, and therefore it would be felony. Tell the villains that you will be answerable to the Diet but never to them. If things become threatening (which I hope to God they may not), leave the town and come to me ; your place is with me in the hour of danger. I am firmly determined to fight a demonstration which imperils the succession to the throne. God be with you. *Vale.*" In the evening a speaker is sent from a popular meeting at the *Zelte* to interview Camphausen, who promises to reconsider the matter. Towards midnight there are disturbances in front of the Prince's Palace, and the inscription "National Property" is put up again. The Ministry promise a loyal declaration from William as soon as he arrives in Berlin.

During this April and May there are also other matters in which the King is less inclined to eat humble-pie and capitulate than in March. He rebels against parting from his "beloved, brave" Guards, "just because Berlin or a few Berlin people wish it!!! I should morally cease to exist, for, in the opinion of the whole army (which enthusiastically applauded the heroic valour of the Guards on the 18th), I should have ceased to be an officer. . . . I would rather put up with anything than do what would dishonour me in the eyes of those splendid men and of the whole country-side, which is thoroughly well-disposed, and even in the eyes of the majority of the Berlin people (as believe me it would), as well as my own." He also abuses the revolution, in a letter to Bunsen, as "the most infamous rebellion that has ever disgraced a city", and its leaders as "criminals of the first rank" and "scoundrels". He speaks of Liberalism as a disease, on a par with spinal consumption, and as blasphemy, "the terrible result of complete godlessness. . . ." "Black becomes white, darkness is called light, and the victims of this sinful, cursed madness are almost if not absolutely worshipped as gods." The "impudence" of the Frankfurt Preliminary Parliament in wanting to raise an army of ten thousand men "is beyond all bounds", he says to Camphausen, "we must be firm at last, and say: 'Thus far and no farther!' "

On the 22nd of May, Frederick William IV opens the Prussian National Assembly in the *Weissesaal.* It sits in the *Singakademie*

and the theatre, and a draft Constitution is to be submitted to it. There are times when he suspects a plot to bring about a second revolution. In a letter to Bunsen he says: "Another 18th of March is being organized in Berlin. There are an enormous number of Polish and French riff-raff hidden in public-houses, cellars, and hotels. The lying rogues are terribly active. French money is pouring in, particularly franc pieces, just as in March. (Hear, hear.) In short, unless the *coup* that is being prepared is frustrated by the cowardice of the rabble and the bayonets of the Civic Guard, you may expect great happenings." All the political revolutions in Berlin, Paris, Vienna, and Naples had taken place on the same day. "That is grist to my mill." He reckons very seriously with the worst, which, indeed, is perhaps what he is wishing for. To Camphausen he says: "The watch-word must then be—Berlin's submission. If that were achieved it would certainly be an untold blessing for the country, both now and in the future. Of course, I am not for a moment hesitating to fulfil any promises I have made that it is still possible to fulfil, but we must also reckon with the chance of a considerable minority in the Diet taking part in the movement. I look upon my brother's return as the signal for the outbreak of the long-prepared movement."

But the incidents are isolated. A mob assembles round the Arsenal, from which the Government proposes removing the arms, in order to render it useless to the people in case of street fighting, and Arnim, "an old gentleman in a cloak lined with white, leaning on a knotted stick and wearing a turned-up moustache", is insulted and hustled as he comes out of the *Singakademie*.

On the 7th of June, the anniversary of his father's death, the Prince of Prussia, who has been elected to the National Assembly as member for Wirsitz, passes through Genthin. In the station he recognizes Herr von Bismarck-Schönhausen, who had tried to persuade him to start a counter-revolution "to rescue the King", just before his flight, but had only been received by the Princess (sitting on a wooden chair) in a servants' hall. William makes his way to Bismarck, holds out his hand, and says: "I know that you worked for me, and I shall never forget it." The

Princess, his wife, has come to meet him at Magdeburg with the two children, Countess Oriola, Pückler, and Curtius. He spends the 7th with them at Potsdam. The officers are summoned to meet him at the Castle. On entering the room he is greeted with loud cheers. He speaks, but what he says about obedience to the King, whatever course he may pursue, does not suit the impatient "Hotspurs". His pair-horse carriage dashes off to the station for Berlin. On the 8th the National Assembly is sitting at the *Singakademie*. A deep-sounding murmur is heard from the chestnut grove. Then the Prince appears, wearing the uniform of a General, and takes a seat on the front Conservative Bench. The Conservatives stand up, the Left shout, "Sit down!" and hiss. The new member, called upon by name by the President, mounts the tribune and makes a long statement: "A constitutional monarchy is the form of government which our King wishes us to be given. I shall devote myself to the task with the loyalty and integrity my Fatherland is entitled to expect from my well-known character." He concludes by quoting the motto of the *Kreuzzeitung*, which has just been founded by the old Conservative Party: "With God for King and country." Shouts of "Bravo!" from the Right. There are hisses outside when he gets into his carriage again.

At the beginning of June Herr von Bismarck-Schönhausen is the King's guest at Sanssouci. After dinner Bismarck expresses his dissatisfaction on the terrace. Elizabeth, who had been standing behind some bushes, says: "How can you speak to the King like that!" The King: "Let him alone, Elise; I shall soon settle him." To Bismarck: "What do you blame me for?" Bismarck: "The evacuation of Berlin." The King: "That was not by my wish." The Queen: "The King is quite innocent of that; he had not slept for three nights." Bismarck: "A King must be able to sleep." The King: "It is easy to be wise after the event. What would be gained if I were to admit that I had behaved like an ass? Reproaches do not help to re-establish a throne that has been pulled down; I need support and real devotion for that, not criticism." He must be careful not to abandon his formal rights. If he wants to break with the Berlin Assembly, the "labourers' parliament", he must have this formal right on his

side. On the 14th of June the rabble sack the arsenal; a line battalion disperses them. On the 26th Camphausen resigns; the Auerswald-Hansemann Ministry is formed. On the 4th of August the soldiers come into conflict with the Civic Guard. The National Assembly supports Stein's motion against the "reactionary aims" of the officers' corps.

Towards the middle of August Frederick William IV is at Cologne to celebrate the completion of the Cathedral, with the Archduke John, the Imperial Vicar elected at Frankfurt, and a number of national deputies under the leadership of President von Gagern. The deputies are said to have been so numerous that they had to stand three or four deep in a room where the King wished to receive them, and where, necessarily addressing them *en masse*, he concluded by saying, helmet in hand: "Remember that there are still reigning Princes in Germany, and that I am one of them." A Prussian officer, who is a deputy, cheers the remark. On the 26th of August an armistice between Prussia and Denmark is concluded at Malmö; this national discomfiture is inevitable as far as the Frankfurt Parliament is concerned, and fatal to the honour and unity of Germany. On the 15th of September Pfuel forms a Ministry in Berlin. General Wrangel is recalled from Jutland and appointed Commander-in-Chief in the Mark. In defiance of Pfuel, who objects, he holds a review of the troops in Berlin on the 20th of September. He says pointedly in the Lustgarten, whilst the general public listen: "I am to restore order where it has been disturbed, and law wherever it is transgressed. The troops are good, the swords very sharp, the rifles loaded."

The Assembly at the theatre discusses the "Waldeck Charter", which strikes the words "by the grace of God" out of the Royal title and does away with the nobility. On the 15th of October, his birthday, Frederick William IV says to the President of the National Assembly at the congratulatory Court held at the Castle: "Tell the gentlemen who sent you that I shall fight and crush rebellion and rebels wherever I find them, and that I feel myself strong enough for this through the grace of God."

The Prince of Prussia thanked those who had helped him to escape and stood by him, including the pastor Behrens and the

gardener Fintelmann, remarking in one of his letters that although people tried to preserve only the memory of happy moments of their lives by commemorating them, the dark days which had been i lumined by loyalty and affection were just as important to him. On the 11th of October he writes from Babelsberg to Charles Alexander, finding fault with orders issued to the Headquarters Staff by Pfuel, as War Minister, and his predecessor, von Schreckenstein. "An army that has set an example such as has never before been given in history, an army that, having been deeply wounded, morally scourged without cessation, treated with personal contempt everywhere, irritated, and even massacred, yet has never wavered in its duty, has endured in silence, faithful to its oath, and shown unparalleled resignation—this army is harangued by two successive War Ministers within a fortnight, and admonished to be nice and quiet and submit to the King's will! Had the army risen in revolt, nothing more could have been said to recall it to a sense of duty than was said on the 23rd of September! Such cowardly behaviour on the part of Ministers with 35,000 men behind them is what has justly made Prussia the laughing-stock of Europe, and, as a Prussian, I feel this intensely."

On the 30th, from Babelsberg to Alexandrina: "We go on in the same futile way as usual; thanks to concessions, the Ministry has secured majorities, although it by no means answers to our eager expectations! Things might improve in the end with another President, but this one is so careless and unreliable that he wants to go himself; *bon voyage!*" On the 30th of October Waldeck requests the Government to exert all Prussia's strength on behalf of freedom in Austria, for the bloodthirsty Windischgraetz has carried the day in Vienna. After the sitting Pfuel is almost lynched by the excited people. The King orders him to let Wrangel march into Berlin with the troops. Pfuel resigns on the 1st of November. Count Brandenburg, the illegitimate son of Frederick William II, is entrusted with the formation of a new Cabinet.

He had hesitated. But Bismarck, "Court and Chamber intriguer", as he prides himself on being, lends a hand. Brandenburg says to him: "Well, if I am to be the elephant who is to trample down the revolution, I must have a keeper, who

thoroughly understands political matters, otherwise there will certainly be trouble." The keeper is the reactionary Otto von Manteuffel, formerly in personal attendance on the Prince of Prussia. He is afraid that the people will tear him to pieces, but Bismarck reassures him. On the 2nd of November, the day of Brandenburg's appointment, the National Assembly sends a deputation to Frederick William IV at Sanssouci. He turns round and goes to the door. Jacoby calls after him: "It is the misfortune of Kings that they refuse to hear the truth."

On the 10th, Wrangel's entry into Berlin. Drums, fifes, and kettledrums drown the Commandant of the Civic Guard's remonstrances. The King's Grenadiers march through the Schönhaus Gate, headed by the crescent of the Janizary band; and each regiment in the same way through a different gate. Wrangel rides from Charlottenburg to the Brandenburg Gate, thence to the Kreuzberg, and enters the town through the Halle Gate at the head of the Brigade of Grenadier Guards. He occupies the Gendarmen-Markt and surrounds the theatre. Rimpler, in command of the detachment of the Civic Guard responsible for the protection of the National Assembly, refuses to yield except to force. Wrangel gives a quarter of an hour's grace. The deputies leave Schinkel's house by the steps of the main entrance, in couples. "Our *coup* with the National Assembly has succeeded", the Prince of Prussia writes to Charles Alexander. "It had been set up on the illegal basis of disobedience. This could not be tolerated." He adds: "So the sorely tried troops are really back in Berlin."

On the 12th the town is put under martial law. The Civic Guard is disbanded and disarmed. On the 15th the Prussian Rump Parliament, which has been compulsorily transferred to Brandenburg, decides to refuse to pay taxes until it can sit again in Berlin without being disturbed. "Yes, indeed", William writes to Alexandrina's son, the Grand Duke Frederick Francis, "we are fairly in order in Berlin! But what about Brandenburg? The row will only be beginning if we have to face the two hundred and twenty-four criminals there! We have had a dreadful time; my nerves are quite shattered! The troops are still splendid."

On the 24th of November Gagern makes his appearance,

without the authority of the Frankfurt Parliament and the Imperial Vicar. The motion brought forward by Dahlmann and Droysen, which has been carried in spite of Uhland's historical speech on behalf of German Austria, has excluded the greater part of the whole Habsburg monarchy. Under Prince Felix Schwarzenberg and the young Emperor Francis Joseph it is prepared to part with its national rights. It is also regarded by Gagern as "not forming part of the German Federal State which is to be set up". The black, red, and gold Greater Germany of the March aspirations is reducing itself to a Little Germany in the counter-revolution which is beginning. And the President of the Frankfurt Parliament is in Berlin to tell Frederick William IV that he will probably—indeed almost certainly—be elected German Emperor if he will now undertake to accept the Crown and Constitution. He replies that the Parliament has no right to give away the Crown; without the consent of the reigning Princes that would be an act of revolution. "You want the reigning Princes' consent? Good, you shall have it", Gagern announces, which mystifies Frederick William IV. He embraces him when he leaves, and calls him his friend. "It is to be hoped", he says later on to Bunsen, "that I may never need his friendship." Prince William objects, just as his brother had done, to the "betrayal of his fellow-Sovereigns". "You will see", he writes to Charles Alexander on the 28th of November, "that Prussia is not by any means regardless of the forces at work that may place her at the head of Germany; it is consequently merely a question of sounding the German Sovereigns through diplomatic channels as to whether they wish to elect Prussia, before agreeing on the method of election. The step should be taken by Frankfurt at once, and by Prussia when the right moment comes. Should there be an important majority against it, then the information given by the Triad will not have been worth having. So all that is needed is courage and discretion."

On the 5th of December the Assembly at Brandenburg is dissolved; Frederick William grants a Constitution. The *coup d'état* is accomplished. On the 31st a letter from the Prince of Prussia to Roon, after the latter's refusal to undertake young Frederick William's military education. The Prince cannot

altogether refute Roon's political objections, but he says: "I thought that you would resign yourself to the inevitable, as we have all done, and could do nothing but good in that respect, for it is a question of increased sense of duty, even if one only resigns oneself with difficulty."

In January 1849 Bunsen, who was at Frankfurt, sees Frederick William's *entourage*, and is alarmed. Manteuffel a harsh bureaucrat; harshness the predominating feature. "The King wanted to be the sole political leader; having granted a Constitution, he wanted to act as a dictator and at the same time be regarded as a liberal-minded, constitutional Sovereign, although he considered the constitutional system a system of deception and lies." Lack of respect, distrust, hatred, and bitterness against him everywhere. At a conference on the 20th of January, with Bunsen, Count Brandenburg, and Canitz, Frederick William IV suddenly agrees to a circular Note being sent to the German Governments without breaking off the negotiations with Austria on that account. "Brandenburg", Bunsen relates, "was quite taken aback, Canitz made a queer face, but the King got up and left the room. We three looked at one another. 'His mind is differently constituted to that of other men', says Count Brandenburg. 'Why did he stand out against it for so long and then suddenly give in directly afterwards?' Canitz was silent."

Prince William is jointly responsible for the moderation of this note, composed by Camphausen, the Prussian plenipotentiary in Frankfurt, for Prussia could not, indeed, ignore the proposals made to her any longer. "At the same time, in view of the equally strong antipathies to Prussia, we could not stretch out our hand for a Crown which, for one thing, did not yet exist, and, for another, had not yet been given to us, so that we should have risked being treated with even less favour, and should have been a laughing-stock. As the great thing was not to offend Austria, but yet to give her a hint of what she must do if she wished to throw in her lot altogether with Germany, the passage was rather awkward and involved."

Even William thinks that the Habsburg monarchy will continue to exist, independently of Germany, but must be bound to her by an indissoluble alliance. He has already reckoned with the

possibility of war with Austria, who will not voluntarily withdraw from the Confederation, but will fight for her former position. But Austria alone is too weak, and Russia, who would have had a right to intervene, according to the treaties of 1815, will not lend her bayonets. "From the moment when Austria gave herself the Constitution whereby the system of direct election has reached the very frontiers of Russia, the close friendship between the two empires ceased to exist, for their plan of jointly putting down the clamour for a Constitution is now impracticable." This is what the Prince writes to his nephew, the Grand Duke Frederick Francis, and again, more pathetically than usual, about the Mecklenburg Constitution: "Above all, do not dissolve your Diet, as borne in your coat-of-arms; it is an anchor that you must not fling away. Even we have not yet dissolved our provincial Diets. That can only be done when the new conditions are quite in working order. To act otherwise would be deliberately burning one's boats. One does that when the aim is a noble one, when it is a question of conquering or dying, but it must not be done when one is pursued by a pack of hounds, like a hunted deer."

Frederick William's feeling towards the national democracy in Frankfurt and towards black and yellow Austria has completely changed since the 23rd of January. He tells Bunsen that he has never regretted any step so much as the one taken then. He will leave it to the Ministry to carry on such a detestable policy. If the personal question is addressed to him, he will answer it as a Hohenzollern, so that he may live and die an honourable man and Prince. On the 28th of March he is elected Hereditary German Emperor by 290 votes; 240 members of the Frankfurt Parliament abstain from voting. Pealing of bells and booming of cannon at Frankfurt. A deputation of members of Parliament is to go to the King to ask if he is willing to accept the Crown. Frederick William IV hesitates; his absolutism carries the day. "I (and, thank God, all right-minded people) have no doubt as to the answer", he says in a letter to Bunsen. "For these patriots (!) wanted to establish the revolution—the sovereignty of the German nation, irrevocably, by putting a dog-collar on the fool, the King of Prussia, which would bind him indissolubly to the sovereignty of the people, and make him a

slave to the revolution of '48. That, dearest friend, is the gist of the thing, the only excuse for this contemptible blunder." He will neither say "Yes" nor "No" to the "*inqualifiable*" deputation from the Frankfurt Parliament: "One either accepts or rejects a thing that can be offered, and you there have nothing at all to offer. I shall settle that with my equals. But I will tell you the truth before you go: Soldiers alone are of any use against democrats! Adieu!"

What he really says to the deputation is clothed in the "necessary Court dress", "deeply touched", "know how to value", "honoured". In conclusion remarks about the soldiers, which have a national tendency: "But should Germany need the Prussian shield and sword against enemies within or without, I shall not fail her, even without being called." The people's spokesmen are dumbfounded. In the evening they are received by Prince William, who, with instinctive loyalty, is anxious to efface the impression made by his brother's attitude, and by Augusta, who speaks of the aim as "so splendid, so essential", in her conversation with them. The Prince thinks that all must still come right, but he only recognizes a Prussian Germany, not the democratic Federal Constitution which the Berlin Government finally rejects on the 28th of April. Only a week before that, Beckerath had been with Frederick William IV, as a member of the Federal Ministry. The King walked up and down in his study, and then, standing still, said to him: "If you could have addressed your impressive arguments to Frederick the Great, he would have been your man; I am not a great ruler."

The Prince and Princess of Prussia are still "very judicious" towards Beckerath. William writes to Charles Alexander that he spoke quite plainly about the matter in hand to the Imperial deputation, who were "childishly irritated", but in a mild and conciliatory tone. "Information that has reached me shows that the praise bestowed on me is genuine. Humanly speaking I am very glad if they found me different to the Berlin March populace and Mr. Brentano on the tribune of the *Paulskirche*. But politically they found me quite in agreement with our Government." He recorded the interview in a long protocol, with a repetition of his concluding remark: "Therefore the chief thing

is for each of us first to sleep upon the great question!" But he is rabid about the insistence on "forcible acceptance of the damned Constitution". "In my opinion", he writes to Charles Alexander, "Prussia must now make common cause with the Kings and rescue you from Gagern's claws." He speaks contemptuously of the "newly baked Central Power", the "Cæsarean operation". "And that is the position a powerful monarch is to be persuaded to accept? Anyone accepting it, as at present proposed, would be acquiescing in the revolution *de gaieté de cœur*, and could never again escape from its clutches! He would be pledged to it, and instead of shutting the doors on revolution, as is now the favourite saying, he would be throwing them open for ever—that is to say, until his nominal position shall have been so humiliated that it would be child's play to drive him out." And, with regard to Schleswig: "God knows what complications may yet be in store for us, and where the sword may yet decide!"

The sword! That is the key-note of all his remarks during these months. He, the high-principled, is now the "grape-shot" Prince. His son is now a recruit in the Guards, and in one of his speeches he recalls the fighting of the previous year, "which, although victorious, was against a dishonourable enemy". "Gentlemen, we are going through a serious crisis, and if we come safely through it, it will again be the army that has saved the Fatherland." He writes to Natzmer about the republicanism in Westphalia, Baden, and the Palatinate. "Germany must be conquered before she can be governed. It cannot be done *à la* Gagern. Whether the time has now come for this unification, God only knows; it is evident from our whole history that Prussia is destined to be at the head of Germany, but the question is—when and how?" He is furious when he is told that his "faithful Pomeranians" are also in favour of a unified Germany and an Imperial Constitution. On the 31st of May the Frankfurt Parliament is dissolved; it is transferred to Stuttgart as a Rump Parliament. It is broken up. On the 8th of June the Prince of Prussia is appointed to the command against the rebels in Baden and the Palatinate.

In consequence of the troops having mutinied in Baden, the Grand Duke and the Ministers have fled. Prince William's first headquarters are at Freinsheim, near Mannheim. He writes to

Maria Pavlovna of being an actor "*dans le grand drame qui se développe devant nos yeux*". On the 25th of June the Prussian infantry (*Pickelhauben*) march into Carlsruhe. On the 23rd of July Rastatt capitulates. A court-martial sits in the name of the Grand Duke of Baden, composed of Prussian officers, a sergeant-major, a non-commissioned officer, and a private soldier. Forty peasants and working men are shot and many punished with imprisonment. Of a condemned revolutionary who refuses to see the Army Chaplain, declaring that he recognizes no God and no future, the Prince writes to Frederick William IV: "When one hears this, one really cannot be surprised to see men acting in such a way."

The Prince of Prussia is occupied in "reorganizing" the Baden army until September. This produces tension between Bavaria and Austria. At Frankfurt he has an opportunity of observing the Imperial Vicar, Archduke John, who only resigns his office in December, and he remarks that his intrigues and those of his Ministry are so very suggestive of annoyance at their own weakness that they are not exactly dangerous, but still a constant eye must be kept upon them. On the 11th of October he is at Potsdam. A new Diet had been summoned in August, elected by the three-class system, and composed of only Conservative and moderate Liberal members, the Left having refrained from voting. The Prince of Prussia is welcomed in Berlin by the President of this Diet. When he leaves for Coblenz, he has drawn up a memorandum for the Ministry concerning a revision of the Constitution granted. It must be amended, he says, "in a Conservative sense". It still contains "mainly democratic provisions". Marriage by a priest must not be conditional on civil marriage, for this leads to disregard of all morality, and robs marriage of its religious garb. The right of assembly and association must be limited, if the army is not to be wrecked through the soldiers on leave being politically poisoned. A really Conservative Upper Chamber must be formed, and the electoral law for the second so modified that there will be the utmost possible probability of securing a Conservative majority. At present the risk is too great. As regards the refusal to pay taxes, there must be no compromise with the Party supporting the

agitation. The laws passed since the March revolution had reduced the "upper, propertied classes", who ought to be rewarded for their sacrifices, almost to beggary. A delay in its ratification by the King would be better than a hasty and insufficiently considered act. And he has the satisfaction of getting these counter-revolutionary provisions submissively accepted by Manteuffel, the Minister for Home Affairs.

The crisis of the year 1850 is the Olmütz crisis. In May 1849 Prussia had concluded the *Dreikönigsbündnis* [Three Kings' Alliance.—Tr.] with Saxony and Hanover, inspired by Radowitz the romanticist. In concluding it, both Saxony and Hanover secretly reserved the right of withdrawal, and let the Tsar Nicholas, Germany's autocratic police inspector, know this. Schwarzenberg protests against this separate alliance, and the Reichstag it proposes summoning in January, and promises Austria's help to every Government whose interests are prejudiced thereby. Schleinitz, who is Minister for Foreign Affairs in Brandenburg's Cabinet, replies that Prussia will not swerve from the path she is pursuing. Saxony and Hanover then join Bavaria and Würtemberg in a *Vierkönigsbund* [Four Kings' Alliance.—Tr.]. Prussia combines the secondary States in a Union, with a Parliament at Erfurt. The King does not at all like this new Constitution; the Prussian Conservatives, led by Gerlach, are undisguisedly opposed to it. Herr von Bismarck, member for Rathenow, who has been elected secretary, removes the little black, red, and gold rosettes from the seats occupied by the Conservatives and fastens on black and white bows instead. He talks in his *Junker* fashion of the Prussian spirit, the Bucephalus which "will land the interloper on the ground, together with the black, red, and gold reins", etc. But Erfurt accepts the Constitution *en bloc*. The King is very much annoyed with Simson, Gagern, Baseler, Vincke, Bodelschwingh, and Camphausen, who are responsible for this.

The Prince of Prussia is willing to act with Austria, in so far as she would combat any revolutionary consequences of the Erfurt Parliament, but he is on the side of the King and Radowitz, and against abandoning the Union; for it would be, he writes

to Bunsen, "an act of disloyalty to the Union States, but above all the most servile concession to Austria, whose object it has been for the last year, and an unparalleled degradation to Prussia in the eyes of the world". The Prince congratulates Radowitz on his great Erfurt speech. In a letter to Charles Alexander he says: "That Austria should be silent again is inconceivable! She will and will not speak out; if only she would, we could really come to an understanding." The fact of Gagern having effected the acceptance of the Constitution *en bloc* rouses him again against the Party leader. "*Enfin*", he says, "I was not mistaken in the man."

In April Schwarzenberg circulates a note announcing a Congress of all the German States under the Presidency of Austria to re-establish the Federal Diet. In May a meeting of German reigning Princes is held with great pomp in Berlin, at the suggestion of Duke Ernest of Saxe-Coburg. The Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt is represented by the Elector of Hesse-Cassel. When the King kisses him, the Duke of Brunswick exclaims: "Judas!" On the same 16th of May on which a conclusion is reached in Berlin, the plenipotentiaries sent to the Congress in Frankfurt constitute themselves the plenary German Federal Diet. Austria has Hungarian Honveds in Bohemia and battalions in the Vorarlberg. Prussia takes steps to strengthen the Silesian fortresses, and makes preparations on a small scale at Wetzlar and Kreuznach against Bavaria.

Prince William draws up a memorandum on the German question, dated the 19th of May, in favour of standing by the Union and against Austria's threat. He deals with the rapidly approaching possibility of a war between the two German Great Powers. Prussia's critical position cannot fail to be recognized. "For although the Union Princes assembled in Berlin said 'Yes' very decidedly in answer to the King's first question whether they would adhere to the alliance even in view of the chance of war, the material help they could give Prussia is but trifling. All that there is to set against this critical position is Prussia's star of hope, her splendid army and the justice of her cause." Frederick William II's grandson clings to the Frederician tradition, dating from the Silesian wars. He himself now becomes an "actor"

again, for his brother sends him to see the great arbitrator, the Tsar Nicholas, at Skiernevice, near Warsaw.

The campaign against Denmark in Schleswig-Holstein has begun again. Prussian troops under Prittwitz have been sent there, in spite of Frederick William's annoyance with the Germans in those parts. "I detest the Danish business", he admits to Bunsen, "both parties are fighting one another like mad dogs. The victories and defeats of both are unspeakably painful to me." Then peace preliminaries. The Tsar sides with the Danish Royal House, so he is very bitter against Prussia. Prince William is to secure his impartial good will as regards the conflict with Austria, but his brother-in-law says to him at Skiernevice, frowning: " I am not contemplating war—I only come to the rescue of the party attacked; but, of course, moral pressure must not have been exerted to provoke the attack." The Prince of Prussia: "We are giving no cause for it; what we are doing is justified by the articles of the Federal Act and of the treaties." The Tsar loses his temper: "I beg you not to talk to me about treaty articles; they are quite beyond my comprehension." At the same time he says that he is dissatisfied with the Austrian policy as well; it is ambiguous and non-committal, but prudent; it is trying to gain time. The Prince only has the Tsar to himself for an hour. Prince Schwarzenberg arrives the same day, the 27th of May; he is incomprehensible, courteously perfidious. The Prince reports this to Berlin. He adds that the *coup d'état* in Prussia is not sufficient for the Tsar; everything constitutional must be eradicated. His reply was that he would be found a zealous combatant if this plan could be carried out, but, as a General, he did not think it possible to fight, sword in hand, *contre les esprits*.

He goes from Cronstadt to Swinemünde by sea. A storm shatters the mast. Directly he has left, the Tsar asks Count Frederick Dohna, who commands the East Prussian Army Corps, whether he would march on Berlin with four Russian Corps and restore absolute monarchy there. On the 20th of June the Emperor Francis Joseph informs the King of Prussia that he abhors fratricidal war, but the force of circumstances may be stronger than human wishes. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, the President of the French Republic, ventures on vague

overtures to Radowitz through M. de Persigny, and direct to the Prussian Minister, Count Hatzfeld, which makes Frederick William IV even more suspicious of the Corsican *parvenu's* nephew.

On the 2nd of July peace is concluded with Denmark, involving the sacrifice of Schleswig-Holstein. On the 17th of July the pending negotiations with Austria are broken off. On the 24th of July, split in the Prussian Cabinet. Manteuffel, as Home Minister, and the War Minister, General von Stockhausen, propose giving up the Union Constitution and therewith the Union, which, according to Radowitz, is incompatible with Prussia's honour. "The King is now almost firmer than his Ministers", William writes to Weimar on the 3rd of August. All the same, both the Hesse States (and, of course, Nassau as well) leave the Union in the lurch. "In such circumstances, and with a minimum of union, will it be possible for its whole apparatus, particularly the whole Constitution and the Parliament, to be kept going?" Incidentally he remarks that there will be great hostility to Prussia, on account of the peace with Denmark. "The very active sympathy with the sea-girt people is not unnatural after a second war, but we were forced into it by the revolution; we have done with it at last, and now we shall take care not to be drawn into it a second time by the revolutionaries. Gagern and the democracy behind him proclaimed loudly that Holstein was their last hope of being able to carry out his plans; *c'est tout dire*."

Prussia does not wish to kindle a fratricidal war in Germany, but she defends herself against Austria's insolence. In September Hassenpflug declares that the refusal of the people's representatives in Hesse-Cassel to prolong the power to raise taxes is rebellion; the civil authorities oppose him, nine-tenths of the officers send in their papers, the Elector escapes to Frankfurt, the Federal Diet plans armed intervention. "What do the South German Governments care about the Hesse controversy?" says Count Brandenburg. "They are only occupying Hesse-Cassel in order to humiliate us." He calls Hesse to order as a member of the Union. Frederick William IV considers this opposition dreadful, and Manteuffel also condemns it. But this time Radowitz triumphs. He becomes Minister for Foreign Affairs on the

26th of September. The Prince of Prussia congratulates him on his appointment, and expresses approval of it: "We must hold something that will give us a right to a voice in the matter, and therefore the decision to occupy Hesse for our part, without loss of time, is the only proper one, if our opponents intend to intervene. I quite agree with the King and you as to the importance and gravity of this step, but we have gone so far that nothing but a *fait accompli* can lead to any decision. When once we have occupied Hesse with 30,000 men, it will not be so easy to dictate to us. First act and then reason is what we have to do now; we have done the reverse for a year and a half with no effect."

The Prussian War Minister makes military preparations; he makes them unwillingly. On the 11th of October the monarchs and Ministers of Austria, Bavaria, and Würtemberg form a defensive and offensive alliance against Prussia at Bregenz, and agree to raise an army of 200,000 men. The King of Würtemberg toasts the Emperor: "As soon as the Emperor calls, we march." Francis Joseph replies: "I am proud to face the enemy with such comrades." Will the Tsar be the principal comrade? In order to set any doubt as to this at rest, Count Brandenburg has to go to Warsaw again. He starts on the 15th of October, and again Austria is also on the way to see Nicholas; this time Francis Joseph himself is with Schwarzenberg.

Count Brandenburg is to endeavour to secure six points: Austria, with all her countries, to be included in the German Confederation. For the time being there is to be no representative Federal Assembly. A Federal Council is to be formed of seventeen members. Prussia to have the same right as Austria to presidency of the Confederation. A closer union to be permissible, in so far as its provisions are not inconsistent with the organization of the German Confederation. The Tsar is "gracious" to Brandenburg, but he is only interested in the disarmament of Schleswig-Holstein. The Chancellor, Count Nesselrode, will "recommend" the six points to Prince Schwarzenberg. Before leaving Vienna the latter tells the Russian Ambassador, Baron Meyendorff, that Prussia must dissolve the Union, and ought to send delegates to the Federal Parliament provisionally for a period of six months. On the 26th the latter decides that the

Bavarians are to march into Hesse; the Prussian General Gröben receives orders from Berlin.

In his conversations with Brandenburg, Schwarzenberg only agrees to the first three of the six points, these three being acceptable to the Habsburg monarchy. Conferences are proposed for the purpose of revising the Act of Federation. Schwarzenberg suggests their being held in Vienna; Brandenburg suggests Dresden. The Tsar requires Prussia to dissolve the Union, in accordance with Austria's wish, and to give way in the matter of Schleswig-Holstein. Brandenburg returns to Berlin. He arrives on the 31st of October. On the 29th Radowitz, on hearing of the Bavarian advance, has spoken in favour of mobilizing the Prussian army. Prince William is at Sanssouci when he hears Brandenburg's disappointing and depressing report. "Forgive these hasty lines", he says in a letter written immediately afterwards to Radowitz. "I am writing to you to prevent your personally giving up the game before the question of what is compatible with our honour has been well considered."

A Cabinet Council is held on the 1st of November. Manteuffel is in favour of allowing the South German States to intervene in Hesse; as a reactionary, he attaches most importance to Conservative principles. The Prince of Prussia is in favour of mobilization, on the ground that, apart from anything else, the formal repeal of the Union Constitution demanded by Schwarzenberg would be equivalent to subordinating Prussia to Austria. On the 2nd of November the King speaks, steering a middle course, for he is irresolute, as usual. Immediate mobilization with an apology in Vienna, negotiations with Austria on the basis of renouncing the Union Constitution, no hostile procedure in Hesse-Cassel, but the two Prussian military routes to be occupied; cessation of the Prussian protectorate in Schleswig-Holstein. That is the King's wish. But he adds that if the Ministry adopt another course, and are prepared to make peace with Vienna without mobilizing, they are free to do so, but must also be solely responsible. The Sovereign suddenly becomes constitutional, in order to shield himself.

Prince William protests again. Prussia's honour must not be tarnished; they must mobilize. Count Brandenburg drafts a

dispatch, for which he secures a majority of the Ministry in the adjoining room. Prussia is to hold her hand in Hesse-Cassel, to require Austria to demobilize, and to mobilize if she refuses. Radowitz speaks on behalf of the minority. The King says that he agrees with the latter, but leaves the majority full power. He hopes that its members may not have cause to regret what he considers the disastrous decision reached to-day. After the meeting, Radowitz, Ladenberg, and von der Heyde resign. On the 3rd Brandenburg's place in the Ministry is vacant; mobilization is going on contrary to his vote. General von Tietzen marches on Cassel; Gröben has occupied Fulda. A threatening Note from Austria. On the 4th Count Brandenburg is taken ill. "I was defeated", William writes to Radowitz. "God will reward you for what you wished done for the honour of Prussia! Does not Brandenburg's condition look like a judgment? But I must not be vain or contemptuous!" On the 5th the Prime Minister is delirious. Manteuffel, acting Prime Minister, requests the Russian Minister to assure the Tsar of Prussia's readiness for peace. The King is ungracious. In the evening he allows Manteuffel to telegraph to Vienna, Frankfurt, and St. Petersburg that the mobilization is for defence. On the 6th of November Brandenburg dies. Nemesis?

Hadenberg remains in office, and acts temporarily as Prime Minister. Rejoicing in the Press, in the street, in the army. But Schwarzenberg knows that Frederick William IV will not hold out. In his opinion Prussia is only mobilizing to pave the way to an honourable retreat. The Bavarian Commander-in-Chief, Prince Thurn und Taxis, is pushing forward in Hesse. On the 8th of November a collision, in which five Austrian soldiers are wounded. Manteuffel expresses regret for the incident to the Austrian Minister. Schwarzenberg demands the evacuation of Hesse-Cassel. The War Minister, von Stockhausen, does not think that Prussia is equal to her enemies—Austria, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Saxony—from the military point of view.

But Frederick William IV, who is no longer trammelled by the Union, has become obstinate in his hatred of the Federal Parliament, and is still bellicose. The Speech from the Throne "to my valiant people", which is read at the opening of the

Prussian Diet on the 21st of November, gives that impression. On the 22nd Prince William writes to Duke Ernest of Saxe-Coburg: "Permit me to give you a description of what I have felt during the last few weeks. The King was so shamefully left in the lurch by his Ministers that he felt obliged to exercise his constitutional right to allow his responsible Ministry a perfectly free hand. It did not need as much as four days to convince these gentlemen that they had taken the wrong course. But it was too late. Count Brandenburg's concessions were made." But he is confident that Prussia will soon be in arms: The Russian Minister, Baron Budberg, tells General Gerlach that the Tsar is furious. The Grenadier Corps and the Don Cossacks were already being mobilized.

On the 23rd a hasty Cabinet Council in Berlin. On the 24th the King commits himself to a course. He agrees to the proposal that Manteuffel should invite Schwarzenberg to a conference "at any place that suits him". Count Stolberg goes to Vienna with it. On the 25th an Austrian ultimatum to Prussia, asking whether the Austrian and Bavarian troops which have been sent to the Electorate of Hesse for the purpose of restoring the sovereign authority can now proceed to Cassel without opposition, and whether instructions to that effect have been sent to General von Gröben? At one o'clock in the afternoon Frederick William desires Manteuffel to telegraph to Vienna at once: "I sent you to the Prince as the bearer of a friendly message, and expected that you would be given a friendly reception. Then the question as to the place. The same thing can be said to Prokesch." Schwarzenberg makes harsh conditions. The King writes an autograph letter to Francis Joseph; the Queen writes to her sister, the Emperor's mother, the Archduchess Sophie. At eleven o'clock on the evening of the 26th Manteuffel telegraphs to the Minister Bernstorff in Vienna that he is starting early the next morning, suggests Olmütz, and asks for an answer to Breslau. At midnight a telegram from Bernstorff: "By the Emperor's command, Schwarzenberg leaves for Olmütz on the 28th; if you leave Berlin to-morrow evening, you and he will arrive at the same time."

The Olmütz negotiations last till the evening of the 29th;

Schwarzenberg is disagreeable, and the only concession he makes is that the conferences for the purpose of reforming the Federal system shall be held in Dresden. Joint committees for Hesse and Schleswig-Holstein. Prussia must allow the Federal troops in the Electorate of Hesse to march through the Prussian position on the military route if the Elector has no objection, Austria and Prussia will each send a battalion to Cassel. The King is asked to demobilize completely at an early date. When this is done Francis Joseph will give similar orders, but three battalions of each infantry regiment, all the cavalry and artillery, the execution troops for Hesse and Schleswig-Holstein, 40,000 strong, and, if the central States wish it, their armies as well, are to be kept on a war footing. That is the worst blow of all to Prussia's pride.

On the 2nd of December the Berlin Cabinet ratifies the treaty of Olmütz. Ladenberg resigns. Prince William strongly objects to the troops being demobilized before the conclusion of the Dresden conferences. A letter from Frau von Roon describes how, after listening impatiently for a long time to the reasons given for it by Manteuffel, Stockhausen, and Gerlach, the Prince at last said angrily: "I cannot listen to this any longer; I would really rather resign at once." "Then", she says, "he sat down again, fidgeted with his glove, and, gnashing his teeth, admired the patience shown by the King (who was on his side), whilst Manteuffel continued to expatiate on the horrors of fratricidal war, our probable inability to carry on a victorious war, etc. At last Stockhausen (the War Minister!!) says: 'And it is also very doubtful whether our army would fight Austria!' At these words the Prince sprang up, and most emphatically repudiated such an assumption, on behalf of the army. He then rushed out of the room, fell on his aide-de-camp's neck, and said, sobbing: 'All is lost; there is nothing to be done with the men in there.' "

Stormy scenes in the Diet. Manteuffel tries to preserve the dignity of his office, and says that, in yielding one step, the strong man still keeps the goal steadily in view, and is considering how he can attain it in some other way. Vincke, the Liberal, talks of patriotism. Bismarck, a Conservative, denies the necessity for war. The object is not one for which it would be worth a soldier's

while to bleed to death in the snow. The Prussian army was to be led into battle in Hesse, against Hassenpflug, for the same principle for which it fought in the streets of Berlin in March 1848. It would never be a Parliamentary army; always the army of the King. Prussia's honour did not require her to play the part of Don Quixote for injured Chamber celebrities all over Germany. Better to mobilize, consequently dissolve, the Chamber than the army. But even Bismarck does not think it advisable to disarm until the conferences have led to a definite result.

Military Prussia capitulates. On the 11th of December Prince William writes to Manteuffel, who becomes Prime Minister a week later: "I have shown all through life that I am no popularity hunter, but there is a public opinion to which I take off my hat, the one which was shown when the army was mobilized. That must not be given a slap in the face!" He notes that the Chambers have not been told what line Prussia intends taking at the Conferences. "This is surely as parliamentary as anything can be; it is always done in England—but Parliament is not allowed to take any part in the discussion while negotiations are going on—that is equally parliamentary." Having rejected his aide-de-camp's advice to go to Coblenz on the 3rd of November, on the ground that he wishes to show his complete agreement with the King, he now prefers to withdraw. "As it is contrary to my nature to applaud a policy of sitting on the fence, I have decided to take no further part in any negotiations. You will understand my views if I say that I have not broken with the King or the Government on that account. Such a rupture would be very bad for the country, and should only be resorted to in very extreme cases." He has now weighed the Olmütz stipulations "impartially", and still feels nothing but grief over the "inconsistency in Hesse" and over Holstein.

In January 1851 he is almost a Manteuffelist. Angry as he is at having been obliged by the demobilization to forgo the command of four Army Corps, he asks himself whether "our great, unforgettable King Frederick William III, who now rests in peace", would have considered Prussia's honour impugned, and he denies it. Whilst Gerlach, the Adjutant-General, regards the Prince's "Liberalism", "which is manifested by anger with

Austria", as one of the "saddest signs of the times", William writes to Stockhausen: "The hellish work is not complete, so the final touch is now to be given to it. The Crowns which still remained intact in the general shipwreck of the years 1848 and 1849 are to be destroyed, and for that purpose people of the same race in Germany are to be roused against one another, and this by the very parties which have always talked of German unity, and made it their rallying-cry. They know very well that there are powerful elements against them, and these are the splendid armies of Prussia and Austria. If these armies, these pillars of the thrones, were to annihilate one another, the way to the Crowns would be open, and they would be overthrown once and for all.

The Dresden Conferences lead back to the old Confederation, to Metternich. Prussia cannot secure an equal right to the Presidency; Austria is included in the Confederation, with all her countries, and a secret treaty, concluded for a period of thirty years, even guarantees armed Prussian help for her provinces in Italy. The Prince of Prussia draws up another memorandum in February 1851. Little as he sees that the counter-revolution is alone responsible for the death-blow that has been dealt to Greater Germany, he is yet a far-seeing politician when he writes: "The wounds may perhaps be cemented for a time, but not healed, and whether Germany is to live or die will depend upon a fresh crisis. Under Prussia's leadership she will live; under Austria's she will die; under the leadership of both she will continue to languish as hitherto, and that will be thanks to Dresden."

In March of this year (1851) the Prince accepts an invitation from Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort, for himself and Augusta, with their children and suite, to visit the exhibition in London. He is again annoyed with Manteuffel, this time on account of his attitude towards the King, of which he complains in a letter from Coblenz. With reference to his brother, who still regards himself as "Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Forces" under the Emperor, he writes: "You surely ought to see as well as I do that the King thinks this proposal will enable him to attain his favourite ideal of the Middle Ages! Your view

that after the federation Austria will have so much to do at home that Prussia will be the only power in Germany, seems to me very like Count Arnim's idea of the 19th of March, of giving up the whole of Berlin, including the Castle, etc., in order to reconquer the town in the afternoon, if necessary! That is what is called letting the bird in the hand escape!" It is the same constant opposition that is expressed in the following lines to Natzmer: "I am certainly in favour of peace, and of acting with Austria, but both must be with honour, and we must not allow ourselves to be put into leading-strings, as is being done."

In April Manteuffel takes his revenge by objecting to the tiresome Prince of Prussia's visit to London. He represents that he is anxious about the continuity of the succession to the throne. William writes to Bunsen that the Ministry are against the plan: "(1) Because, in view of all the revolutionaries of the world being gathered together, our lives would be endangered; (2) because red revolution will probably break out in France within the next four weeks and spread to Germany; (3) because, in view of the position of the present English Ministry, a construction might be put on our appearance there which would be undesirable in the interests of Prussia." William begs his brother not to inform the Prince Consort of this until Bunsen has reported, and points out to him how unheard of it would be to fail Queen Victoria, what an affront, what shocking tactlessness. To Manteuffel he says that he will go trusting in God, for God's will can reach him everywhere.

A letter that Frederick William IV writes to the Prince Consort is a fresh source of trouble. "The way in which the King tells him", William complains to Bunsen, "that the Queen must decide whether we are to come trusting in God, or tempting God, really obliges the Queen to put us off, unless she replies that she knows nothing of the dangers foreshadowed. There seems to have been great anxiety to spoil my visit. Why? I hope to be able to talk this over with you personally." Bunsen's report is favourable, however. At the last moment the Home Minister, a brother-in-law of the *émigré* in London, Karl Marx, remonstrates. The English police are instructed to assist the Prussian police officials.

The visit to London lasts till the end of May. The exhibition

is "an event of world-wide importance to industry". "No pen can describe the impression made by the building, and particularly by the opening ceremony", the Prince thinks. "The French bronzes may perhaps be superior, but England leads the way in every other branch of industry." "It was a time in many respects never to be forgotten", he writes afterwards to Bunsen, to whom he is indebted for "interesting talks". He also had political conversations with Albert, who shows no enthusiasm for the reaction in Prussia. "He sees the question of popular representation that has been raised in our country from a mistaken point of view."

On the 31st of May the statue of Frederick the Great is unveiled in Berlin. William has the honour of commanding the Guards, "whom I hoped to lead against the enemy this winter", for three hours. He puts in a "short appearance" at Dirschau, in West Prussia, when the King meets the Tsar, who again finds fault with the Prince of Prussia to his *entourage*. The Prince points out to his brother-in-law that Austria's inclusion in the German Confederation makes it a Central European Confederation, and asks whether Russia approves of this kind of Federation. Nicholas replies: "*Vous n'avez pas tort en ce que vous dites.*"

On the 3rd of July the Prince pays a visit to Bismarck at Frankfurt a.M.; the latter is definitely appointed Minister to the Confederation soon afterwards. "And this *Landwehr* lieutenant is to be Federal Minister?" the Prince asks Bismarck's predecessor, Herr von Rochow. From Frankfurt he writes to Manteuffel to decline the office of Prime Minister, offered to him by the King. He does not feel capable of studying the laws to the necessary extent. He also foresees that he might be involved in difficulties as heir to the throne, for, as such, he ought not to have to convey majority decisions to the King, in an official capacity, which might not be in accordance with his own views. Finally, he could not exist without his military sphere of activity, which is on the Rhine, not in Berlin.

In September, at Baden-Baden, he expresses disapproval of the Prussian Church policy to Bunsen. The Government want "to make use of the so-called Conservative elements of the

Catholic Church"; but when once caught, it is not so easy to escape from the hierarchical clutches. He also protests (in a letter to Louis Schneider) against any qualification of Prussia's military conventions. He is at Weimar when he speaks of the morganatic marriage of Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar, a Colonel in the British army, with Lady Augusta Lennox, a daughter of the Duke of Richmond, with traditional dislike to a departure from the family custom; but at the same time he advises the Grand Duke to sanction it.

During the autumn there is a sneaking reaction in Westphalia against the abolition, demanded by Austria, of the 1850 Constitution. In December Manteuffel receives a letter complaining of the Vienna Cabinet's attempt to drive Prussia out of her "last position in Germany", by becoming a member of the Zollverein. Napoleon's *coup d'état* rouses very mixed feelings in Queen Louise's son. Bonaparte is a saviour from red anarchy. "*Je félicite le président sur la manière dont il a préparé de long main cette catastrophe et sur l'énergie et la conséquence avec laquelle il l'a exécutée*", William writes to Maria Pavlovna. It is true that this *coup d'état* has no legal justification, "*mais que faire quand on se trouve dans la Notwehr*. The only evils of it are the *plébiscite*, a demonstration of the sovereignty of the people, and the Imperialistic tendencies of the President, who might be ambitious for the young Napoleonic eagle to fly as high as the old one."

1852. A campaign through Louis Schneider in favour of reintroduction of the three years' military service, and against newspaper articles which weaken confidence in the army. William justifies himself to General von Wangenheim: "I know very well that I voted in 1834 for two and a half years' service, because I could not secure the three years' period and did not want two years. My arguments have been fully justified in the sixteen years that have elapsed. I had made various proposals myself at that time, but at the same time always pointed out that they were worthless except as a palliative." On the 22nd of January he writes to Maria Pavlovna about the "immense growth" of the Conservative spirit: "*Il est nécessaire de le bien diriger maintenant!*" William does not believe in an early war with Napoleon. In March a memorandum on making the Upper

Prussian Chamber into a House of Lords, to satisfy the nobility. In April Manteuffel is reprimanded: extracts from the Foreign Office dispatches are to be sent to the Prince at least once a week. Letter to Natzmer about Napoleon, "soon to be Napoleon II": "He builds upon Frenchmen and the sovereignty of the people—consequently upon sand!" And about the death of Prince Schwarzenberg: "He would eventually have run his head against the wall in order to ruin Prussia. None of his successors will act as foolishly as he acted. *Mais bien fol qui s'y fie.*" "I should not be surprised", he writes to Manteuffel, "if former friends of Schwarzenberg's now tried to represent him to us as the obstacle in the way of an understanding, just in order to achieve their aim all the sooner by concealing it better, the aim, of course, being to drive us into making further concessions." The successor, Buol-Schauenstein, is a thorough Schwarzenberg.

The Zollverein, which comes to an end on the 1st of January, is to be renewed at a customs conference. "First restore the Customs Union, and then negotiate a commercial treaty with Austria—that is our solution. Those who wish to leave us can do so; they will return." The States whose material welfare has manifestly improved side with Prussia. "It is quite certain that there will be no lack of false alarms; the great thing is to recognize that they are false." As soon as the Prussian Minister in Vienna, Count Arnim-Heinrichsdorf, has called upon Buol, he writes reassuringly: "Sad, that Arnim seems to have been talked over. He is not fit for the post. Nesselrode is with the Tsar in Berlin, and Russia will favour Austria's admission to the Zollverein. Who is weaving these wicked intrigues here and in Vienna? If we surrender this, our last position, we shall have lost all prestige and shall be justly despised. I have written the same to the King. He and you" (he is addressing Manteuffel) "now have to choose whether we are still to preserve our independence or are prepared to sacrifice everything, even our honour." Arnim falls ill. Bismarck is sent in his place to see the Emperor Francis Joseph at Pest. He exceeds his powers, to Manteuffel's great annoyance. The Prince of Prussia begs him not to put "personal considerations" first, "just when we are on the point of victory".

Letter to Manteuffel in September: "I fear that Austria will not give up her (Schwarzenberg) plan of pushing Prussia back to her position prior to the year 1740. The Emperor, as Schwarzenberg's pupil, will not give up this theory which has been instilled into him; and what if the Seine were to combine with the Danube to sweep us back! Consequently, whilst preserving our dignity and honour, as has been done in the matter of the Zollverein, we must be careful not to give Austria any cause for breaking with us, so as to secure public opinion on our side, and thus make sure of Russia and England." Radowitz is appointed Director of Army Organization in August. The Prince, mindful of the Olmütz days, is very glad of his return to active service. "The future will show the world that, as you express it, you have no intention of putting obstacles in the way of the Government."

On the 15th of December Francis Joseph pays Frederick William IV a visit in Berlin. This comedy, this mock *rapprochement*, may prove a tragedy for Prussia. To Manteuffel: "Hitherto Austria has been coquetting with France. Must not the visit at this moment make it appear that she holds more with Prussia than with France? But which will be the one deceived? Prussia will come triumphantly out of this episode, if only she wishes to, 'and those who dig a pitfall for others will fall into it themselves'. England has recognized Napoleon. Austria hesitates; but soothing drops have already been administered *sub rosa* in Paris."

Memorandum by the Prince on the Prussian army. His brother has hastily summoned him to Berlin to join him in welcoming Francis Joseph. He writes to Leopold von Orlich about this and about the Bonapartist Imperialism, which may provide the French nation with its next amusement. "For the moment Napoleon will probably preserve peace, for he will gain all he wants by it. Besides that, the Imperial visit to Berlin will have pointed to a European Coalition, and he can only attack that with the knife at his throat. I need not say that in spite of this visit I don't trust the white coats farther than I can see them. I should not have gone to Berlin of my own free will." The reference to white coats is to the Habsburg uniform.

1853. Field-Marshal Baron Prokesch is appointed to the

Presidency of the Federal Parliament in Frankfurt in the place of Count Thun, who goes as Minister to Berlin. Speaking of Napoleon's marriage with Eugénie, the Prince says: "The Montijo marriage is a relief to my mind, for no European reigning House need now enter into a matrimonial alliance with the *parvenu*." Similarly to Maria Pavlovna: "*L'Empereur de la paix va gouter les douceurs de la paix conjugale dans les bras de la belle Espagnole! Quelle événement!*" The letter to Bismarck concludes: "I am curious to see how this episode will agree with Napoleon, politically and otherwise. We must only take care not to go to sleep, for our part, but, on the other hand, not to write foolishly, like the *Kreuzzeitung*, which is quite mad!"

Conflict between Turkey and Montenegro, in which Field-Marshal von Leiningen intervenes in Stamboul, as the Austrian special envoy. Attempt to assassinate Francis Joseph. Revolt of Mazzini's partisans at Milan. They take refuge in Sardinian Piedmont. England is to be compelled to issue stricter passport regulations. "There is even talk", the Prince writes to the Prime Minister, "of prohibitive continental tariffs against England as a reprisal. That would be the height of folly. Consequently if Austria should be tempted to indulge in any absurdities of that kind, we must refuse, with all due friendliness to her, to be led into taking any such steps. My idea of a dignified policy would be first to exercise firm and resolute supervision over Austria's foolish policy in the south; secondly, to act independently as regards the present question of the refugees, when we have done all that is necessary, and take no part in Austrian absurdities." Prokesch's behaviour, on which Bismarck reports to the Prince at Coblenz, "shows how much reliance is to be placed on these useless white-coated swaggerers! So long as the man remains at Frankfurt a.M., peace between Prussia and Austria is out of the question. Bismarck hopes that he will act so foolishly that he will soon do for himself." The Habsburg monarchy, which after thirty years acts as though Italy were a conquered province, is a colossus with feet of clay. "And now that it sees that we have recovered from the 1848 catastrophe through our own strength and energy, we are to be answerable for its sins!! These few lines show the difference between Prussia and Austria's strength."

In June war in the east becomes inevitable; the Tsar has occupied Moldavia, Wallachia, and Serbia, as the Protector of these provinces, after the rejection of Menchikoff's ultimatum by Turkey. The Prince goes to England, "to enable him to be of service to the King in London". He arrives on the 27th of June. He witnesses the review of the fleet at Spithead and pontoon manœuvres at Chobham.

In August he meets Bismarck at Ostend. He speaks of Gerlach with animosity, calling him a "Pietist", a religious hypocrite wanting to work his way up. Bismarck defends the orthodox doctrine of Jesus, the son of God. William, colouring up: "Who can be so God-forsaken as not to believe that?" Bismarck: "If that remark became generally known, Your Royal Highness yourself would be considered a Pietist." Later on, in discussing the district and municipal by-laws, William says that he is no enemy of the nobility, but he cannot allow the peasant to be ill-treated by the nobleman. In reply to Bismarck, who denies that he ill-treats the Schönhausen peasants: "That may be so, but it is the exception, and I cannot allow the small holders in the country to be ground down." Bismarck tries to dispose him favourably towards the landed gentry by giving a short description of the conditions, for which the Prince thanks him cordially.

On the 25th of December Radowitz dies. William writes to his widow that he has lost a friend whom he first learned to know, and found a very real friend, during the worst crisis through which the country had passed. The loss is to him irreparable.

1854, the year of the Crimea War. The Russians have marched into the Danube principalities, the Russian fleet has surprised and destroyed the Turkish fleet at Sinope. As early as in October 1853 the Prince had said to Charles Alexander, now Grand Duke: "Having repeatedly advised moderation and peace, Prussia must remain neutral and independent until the European complication becomes general. Only then can she take sides, and when that time comes, the arch-enemy will probably come from the west, as usual." Frederick William IV had sent Count Pourtalès to London in December with a letter to Albert, in which his inability to act with Russia and his hatred of Napoleon involve him in a curious dilemma. "I shall do everything in

Prussia's power to cope with the 'tiger's spring' from the west, and to save poor, unhappy, culpable (and therefore half-fool, half-knave) Germany from its clutches, and fight the godless, anti-Christlike monster of revolution, which the 'tiger's spring' is rousing in Hungary, Poland, Italy, and Germany." "Ever one with my beloved England", in spite of the fact that she is now bringing wholesale destruction on Christian soldiers on behalf of Turkey. Prussia will observe "real and independent", not passive, neutrality. The price she asks is that England should secure the restoration to her of Neufchâtel, the "dear little country in the Jura" from which the Swiss Radicals had driven her in 1848.

Prince William is cautious and far from Russophil, in spite of what he said about the "arch-enemy". He writes to his cousin Adalbert in January: "We must wait and see what part we shall play, which front will be assigned to us by our War Lord. The honour of the army will then be all that we shall have to consider." The "unheard-of inconsistency" which is inseparable from his brother's policy is already having its effect, however. To Manteuffel: "You must insist on seeing the King's answer to the Tsar of Russia, otherwise there is no knowing where it may lead. The crisis has come."

On the 8th of February the Prince is upset by the appointment of Herr von Werther to be Under-Secretary of State, a sign of the *Kreuzzeitung* supremacy and of the King's irresolution. "After that I know what to do. I will never allow Prussia's policy to be vacillating again. I would rather take a startling step, to show the world that I will have nothing to do with such inconsistency." At the end of February the Western Powers, whose Fleets had entered the Black Sea on the 8th of January, ask the Vienna and Berlin Courts what attitude they would adopt towards a declaration of war by England and France on Russia, in case of the latter not evacuating the Danube principalities. Buol informs the Western Powers that a strong protest has been sent to St. Petersburg. Frederick William IV writes to Victoria and Albert and to Francis Joseph, the "friend" on whom he now urges the defensive alliance which Austria had already proposed in January, enclosing a copy of his letter to the Queen. Priding himself on his monarchical piety, he says: "I must tell the people

the truth and point out the dangers, the terrible responsibility, whatever the result may be. I want just to have done what I feel my duty. God the Lord will be the guide."

In February there is every probability of a diplomatic scandal. The King's Ministers hand private telegrams from Bunsen, who is anti-Russian, to the Russian Minister, Baron Budberg. Bunsen has recast the map of Europe with the English statesmen, pushed the Russian Empire farther east in favour of the Habsburg monarchy, set up an independent Poland, put the Ernestines on the Saxon throne, and given Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia. Bunsen denies there being any such agreement. Frederick William IV sends Prince Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen to Paris and General von Gröben to London. On the 6th of March the Prince of Prussia writes to Manteuffel: "I have just heard that Bunsen has been recalled! What a scandal, I ask you! After having won a good name in London, and being now a temporary failure, let him be disavowed and pulled up, but on no account recalled. All Europe would then see that we had deserted to the Russian camp, which God forbid! You have pledged me your word not to do that. The choice of Hohenzollern is good, as far as the man himself is concerned, but what is the use of sending him to Paris?"

Hitherto Olmütz has been the cause of the antagonism between Coblenz and Sanssouci. The Prince is now on fairly good terms with Manteuffel, whom he could not endure before, and both he and Otto von Manteuffel, the bureaucrat, object to being governed by a camarilla consisting of von Gerlach, von der Gröben, Count Dohna, and the King's aide-de-camp, Count Edwin von Manteuffel. Count Usedom, the former Minister to the Federation, is another man William trusts.

There is a scene between the two sons of Frederick William III over the Bunsen affair, which is witnessed by Prince Albert, who declared that the Prince was shamefully treated. On the 8th of March William writes to Manteuffel about the "intrigues" which are being carried on against him. Pourtalès and Usedom, "men of my principles", are to be got rid of. The Prince of Hohenzollern had asked the King who there was in Berlin to whom he could speak frankly. The King replied: "My brother Charles: he

knows about everything." William is furious: "I, the heir to the throne, with a past which will bear the strictest investigation, am at the mercy of a clique who do not scruple to abuse me personally and make a tool of my brother, whose past is at least not to be compared with mine. And have you not found the key to the whole intrigue? You have been drawn into it, and have not discovered it?" The secret of it is that the Prince's influence is to be destroyed. "Therefore those who are faithful to me must suffer for it, so that I too may be discredited in your eyes, and when this has been accomplished, then the success of the Russian gold that is being poured into the King's very ante-room will be clear, and Prussia will have been sold into the Russian camp, against the wish of her people and against Prussia's interests. This is what the camarilla has brought us to." The Prince wants satisfaction for their audacity. "But there is no time to lose, for the camarilla is both active and indefatigable."

In March and April he is still in Berlin. He is laid up with influenza for a week, and sees the King again for the first time at a family dinner in memory of their mother. On the 18th of March he writes to Charles Alexander at Weimar: "Prussia must also be careful, as a Great Power, not to take up a position which would end in altogether preventing her either having a voice or being heard in the matter, as would be the case if she were satisfied to remain a passive onlooker *ad infinitum*."

At the end of March General von Hess arrives in Berlin on a special mission from Francis Joseph, to propose the conclusion of an offensive and defensive alliance between Austria, Prussia, and the other German States, for all time, and to safeguard all their possessions; Prussia is to raise 100,000 men now and 50,000 later on, the German Confederation to mobilize half its contingents. The Berlin Government is willing to enter into an alliance and a military convention for the duration of the present war, and agrees to an ultimatum being sent to St. Petersburg, but in very mild terms. The Prince of Prussia has another attack of influenza. In April he writes in rather low spirits to thank Natzmer for congratulations on his birthday. "It must not return too often", he says, "if one is to do something more in the open; there is already so much and such lengthy consultation

behind closed doors that people fairly shrink from the thought of acting openly; that is to say, not I, but others!" With regard to the pact with Vienna he says: "I long for the time when Prussia and Austria, hand in hand with Germany, will adopt the attitude, in this question, of seconds in a duel, i.e. propose peace to both parties when their honour has been satisfied; then those who will not be taught must suffer. If Russia is the victor in this duel, she must be invited to conclude peace, to prevent her from driving out the Porte. If the others are victorious, they must be asked not to contemplate conquests (*corriger la carte de l'Europe*); that might mean a seven to thirty years' war, for Russia's real strength is in defence, even apart from the winter of 1812." The treaty is signed on the 20th of April. Frederick William IV immediately tries to recall it by a Note to the Tsar through the medium of the Grand Duke George of Mecklenburg, who is Russophil.

The Prince of Prussia protests, just as he did in March. "I could not have believed", he writes to Manteuffel, "that eight days after the signature of the treaty, and before it had even been ratified, we should make a declaration to Russia qualifying it! I beg that you will let me see the Note before it is sanctioned, for, frankly, such a step would re-establish the old seesaw system which had at last been abandoned, and in a way that to me is really shocking. Hardly have we successfully accomplished something of real value, when we have to modify it because Budberg & Co. take it amiss." The punishment inflicted on Bunsen, "the first injustice the King has done", is followed by the fall of the War Minister von Bonin, on account of a speech at a Chamber Committee meeting.

In a letter of May 15th to Manteuffel the Prince says: "I know very well that the King has a right to change his Ministers, but when intrigues and party aims oblige the King to take steps such as those we have seen taken during the last few days, it does not do to be satisfied with recognizing those intrigues. Where they are so palpable as in this case, instead of shutting our eyes, we must open the King's eyes, that he may see the intrigues himself. Sooner or later there must surely be an awakening. I have held my tongue for three years, but now that the intrigues

affect me personally I have spoken out." He writes to his brother strongly enough to give offence. (This letter has since disappeared.) The Sovereign feels that he is lord and master of the House of Hohenzollern. He does not order him to be tried by court-martial, it is true, or punish him with imprisonment, but he dismisses him from all his military offices, and he is to go to Baden-Baden. "I have already sent the King word that I am leaving Berlin", he informs the Prime Minister.

"That was the catastrophe that brought me here", he says in writing to Duke Ernest from the watering-place where he is now forcibly detained; and as he wishes, as usual, to be the first to obey the King's commands, as the first of his subjects, he adds: "There must not be any lasting breach between the King and my family, so I am going to Berlin for my silver wedding on the 11th of June, which it is to be hoped will be the means of restoring family peace." Maria Pavlovna undertakes to reconcile the brothers. William writes to her on the 22nd of May: "As you tell me, on behalf of the King, that he bears me no malice, that he is ready to embrace me, and that all will be forgotten if I will do what he wishes, I think that, as I am acting in accordance with his suggestions, he will be quite satisfied." General von der Gröben explains the point on which it depends. William did not protest against Bonin's dismissal "on behalf of the army". On the contrary, he had said to his brother before leaving: "If I had protested on behalf of the army, he would have had to order my head to be cut off, as Cüstrin could not atone for that"; and he now expresses regret for the misunderstanding. At the same time he insists that he was justified. "No one regrets the incident more than I do", he confides to Charles Alexander, "but anyone who knows all that I have had to put up with during the last few months can understand that I had to take some step, that I could not allow myself to be trampled upon." He is determined to maintain his political position consistently before the whole world, and makes no secret of it. On the 7th of June he and his brother "Fritz" stand beside their father's coffin together, and on the 11th he celebrates his silver wedding at Babelsberg.

Francis Joseph, the Empress Elizabeth's young husband, invites Frederick William IV to a meeting at Teschen, at which

Buol and Manteuffel are also present. The sick, hypochondriacal Tsar Nicholas is contemplating an armistice and peace negotiations. Acting on his own responsibility, in conjunction with only England and France, Buol sends a programme of four points to St. Petersburg, which Russia rejects unconditionally. The King of Prussia is at Putbus, in the island of Rügen, with Count Alvensleben-Erxleben, the former Minister, Colonel von Manteuffel, and Bismarck, who was on his way to Reinfeld in Pomerania, to join his wife, who is ill, and received a message at Stettin summoning him to the King. Buol's programme may lead to a fresh *casus belli*. The telegram to Vienna which the Prime Minister has drafted seems to the King too Austrian; Bismarck must word it differently. The English and French have landed in the Crimea, before Sebastopol.

On the 24th of October "Fritz" shows his brother a letter to their sister Charlotte—a last step, as he says, after which, if it fails, he will consult nothing but the interests of his State and people. With regard to this William remarks: "The King was politically more anti-Russian yesterday than I have found him for a very long time. I said nothing about personal feeling, for in that I am altogether Russian, and far more so than the King. As to the King's opinion yesterday, will it last?" After that the Prince is more often at Coblenz than in Berlin. On the 28th of November Prince Gortchakoff, the Russian Ambassador in Vienna, informs Count Buol that the Tsar accepts the four points. In spite of this, Austria concludes a treaty of alliance with England and France on the 2nd of December, of which Prussia only learns the day before, from Count Esterhazy. She is only to be permitted to join the alliance. "From the fact that you said nothing to me in Berlin about an impending alliance between Austria and the Western Powers", William writes to the Prime Minister, "I must assume that you had heard nothing of it and must therefore have been just as much surprised as I am. This kind of surprise proves once more how incredibly badly Count Arnim fills his position in Vienna. A Minister who is at all on the alert must surely have got wind of such an event and have been able to let you know of it, so that Austria's want of consideration would not have been so flagrant."

But notwithstanding the "rudeness of the proceeding" William is in favour of joining the new Triple Alliance; for Prussia must not be isolated; her isolation would mean war, war against the whole of Europe: "it would be folly for our army to attempt to fight in three theatres of war with no ally but Russia; such *coups de désespoir* can only be risked when the honour and existence of a State are at stake, as was the case in 1850, when, however, England would not have been our enemy."

Usedom goes to London with a letter to Queen Victoria. Frederick William IV is afraid of Poland being revolutionized and of French troops marching through Prussian territory. He asks for guarantees against this; as a world Power as well as the leading Protestant Power, Great Britain ought not to leave Prussia to the fate in store for her. The communication is coldly received in London, and contemptuously by Napoleon's Minister, Drouyn de Lhuys, in Paris, where it became known rather later. On the 24th of December Buol asks Berlin for 200,000 Prussian troops, as a Russian attack on Austria may be expected. On the 26th of December a treaty of alliance is signed between Victor Emmanuel, the King of Sardinia and Piedmont, and the Western Powers; that is a very serious matter for the Habsburg monarchy. Augusta has an attack of erysipelas at Coblenz.

1855. Prussia refuses Buol's request. Gortchakoff has opened preliminary peace negotiations in Vienna. During this January William and Bismarck are both in Berlin. Directly he arrives Bismarck is summoned to the Prince, who laments the heavy losses in the battles fought for Sebastopol. "All those splendid troops", he exclaims, "all the friends left there"—and he mentions several names—"would still be alive if we had intervened, as we ought to have done, and compelled Russia to conclude peace." Bismarck recapitulates every argument against this. "We should be assuming the rôle of an Indian vassal Prince, who has to carry on English war in the English interest, or that of the Yorck Corps in the war of 1812, when the fear of France that was well grounded at that time had compelled us to become her obedient ally." William, furiously: "This time there is no question of vassals or fear." The conversation is continued, however.

Austria proposes that the German Confederation should mobil-

ize and select a Federal Commander-in-Chief. This is rejected on the 8th of February. The Prince receives confidential communications from Duke Ernest II of Coburg, and in thanking him he reiterates his complaints of his brother's policy, which does not reckon with the fact "that there is a Russian policy which is not personal." "The King", he writes, "is far too shrewd not to see this, but he cannot get over his feeling. Advantage is taken of this by G. [Gerlach], N. [Niebuhr], and B. [Bismarck], who only take one—the Conservative—school of thought in Russia into account, not realizing that Liberalism, in a rational sense, is gaining ground there too. The King is still determined not to side with Russia, but that feeling prevents his speaking to his brother-in-law with the sternness that must necessarily be followed by still sterner action; this accounts for our often being angry and then climbing down." The Prince is positive that unless peace is concluded in the course of the year, Prussia will be forced to take action against Russia.

Towards the end of February he is laid up for some time with a twelfth attack of influenza, and he has to lament the death of several friends, amongst them von Ladenberg. "One friend after another passes away—when one has arrived at the age of fifty-eight oneself!"

Then on the 2nd of March Tsar Nicholas dies of influenza and inflammation of the lungs, only a few days after issuing a manifesto in which he solemnly declares that he has only gone to war to liberate the Orthodox Church and with no selfish object. The Tsarina says that almost his last words were: "Tell Fritz to be always the same and not to forget what Papa said." Is this a reminder of the Holy Alliance? William discusses the question, and Frederick William's postponement of the peace negotiations out of dynastic "piety", in a letter to Manteuffel. "I ask you, what can the two Cabinets think of Prussia, who is no longer trusted, because of her continual vacillation, now that they find the negotiations on which she had voluntarily entered are broken off because the great monarch sent the King word on his death-bed to 'remember what Papa said'!"

It is a comfort to the Prince that "this great man, who reigned in the Far North", was his friend, and that he was able to write

and tell him what he felt not long before his death. At the same time he thinks that but for the "tremendous" event, the treaty between Prussia and the Western Powers would have been concluded, and now Alexander II, Sascha or "Sache", is the person of importance in St. Petersburg. In 1846 William, as "*cher oncle*", had discussed the question of the best policy to pursue with the Grand Duke in St. Petersburg. "The young Emperor's views", he says in a letter to Duke Ernest, "are known to have been opposed to those of his deceased father for the last two years, although he dutifully acquiesced in them." Sascha will be true to the traditions of Peter and Catherine, but he will certainly agree to a peace that is not derogatory.

The Prince spends the 22nd of March in Berlin. His daughter Louise's fiancé, Prince Frederick of Baden, is there too. All that the "eternal" special missions—Usedom's in London and Count Wedel's in Paris—have achieved is that Prussia is not to sit at the Peace Conference table in Vienna. Agreement has been reached with regard to the Danube principalities and the Danube navigation question; the difficulty is the Russian Fleet in the Black Sea, and on this point Buol's policy is as unacceptable to Napoleon as to Russia, in spite of a visit from Drouyn de Lhuys to Francis Joseph. Bombardment of Sebastopol. In May the King has an attack of fever which is cured by quinine.

In July the Prince is staying with his Russian nephew, Sascha, at Jelagin and at Snamenski. The Empress Dowager is very much aged; Sascha does not look too bad, in spite of being so thin. On the 3rd of August William leaves Peterhof. He goes to Erdmannsdorf in Silesia via Berlin, then to Baden-Baden and Ostend. Bismarck is in Paris for the Exhibition, and is presented to Napoleon and the Queen. In September Augusta is to inform Maria Pavlovna of the result of young Frederick William's visit; the future husband of Princess Victoria is now twenty-four "*Il parait que le sort de nos deux enfants va se fixer presqu'en même temps. Jugez, chère Maman, de nos émotions dans ces jours.*" Maria Pavlovna, the Russian, objects to the marriage proposed for the future heir to the throne. Her son-in-law reminds her that she had nothing to say against it a few years ago. On the 23rd of September Sebastopol is stormed. On the 25th of October the

Prince of Prussia speaks at the Castle at Potsdam, on the occasion of the King's military jubilee; he lays a sword of honour before the throne. In December the Vienna peace preliminaries are accepted by Russia.

In January 1856 the Prince writes to Leopold von Orlach in Rome that his historical recollections of the "classic ground" have interested him immensely, particularly what he says about the "worship of modern idols" and about Pius IX's "worship of the Virgin", the doctrine of the immaculate conception. Elections to the Diet had taken place in Prussia, which had led to the extreme Conservative "District Chambers". "There is not much that is satisfactory to report from here. Electioneering manœuvres have brought an element of disintegration and demoralization into our political conditions which will have very bad results, and moreover the Government has been more Royalist than the King. The word 'manœuvres' will show you that on the occasion of the elections the Government organs went far beyond the limits of cautious and necessary interference in them, and exerted a terrorism which must have far worse consequences than a Chamber which might perhaps have had more members of the Centre and even of the Left Parties; this is how the ground is deliberately cut from under our feet, instead of being strengthened. Oh, the fools!"

On the 30th of March the Peace of Paris. On the 18th Manteuffel and Count Hatzfeld had been hastily admitted to represent Prussia; "*moutarde après diner*", the Prince remarks. Walewski, Napoleon's Minister, and Cavour, representing Sardinia and Piedmont, fall out, so that Buol's efforts to solve the Italian question are vain. But no one furthers the Prussian wishes; the Congress can deal with the restoration of the King's authority in Neufchâtel. Frederick William IV bestows the Order of the Black Eagle on the Emperor Napoleon. "Why we should plume ourselves to such an extent on having achieved this peace, and now make such a parade of our satisfaction by private *Te Deums* and bestowing the Order of the Black Eagle by telegram, I cannot understand. Had my policy of the 20th of April 1854 been steadily pursued, Russia would have fared much better, for she would only have had a moral lesson, whereas not only is it now a far

harder one, but she has to suffer materially as well, and her power is very much diminished, although her military honour is untarnished. Fresh constellations will now be formed, and Prussia must be prepared, so as not to be set aside as of no account. Strength, unity, and healthy conditions are needed. Are all these to be found in Prussia now?"

Young Frederick William and Victoria have been engaged since September, but the engagement is only announced by the Courts in April 1856, after the Princess Royal's confirmation. Towards the middle of May Frederick William IV is indisposed again: he has fever, and is alternately excited and exhausted. The Tsar's widow, who has heart complaint, is a visitor at Potsdam and Sanssouci. On the 30th their Majesties go to Bohemia, the Queen to take the waters at Teplitz, the King to Marienbad. William is in London in July, and goes to Aldershot and Osborne House in the Isle of Wight. He sees his future daughter-in-law. "*La Princesse Royale, sans être jolie, a beaucoup changé à son avantage; elle a grandi, elle est gracieuse et parait être d'un caractère fort distingué; elle énonce de l'esprit et une âme élevée.*" When she burned her arm, she showed a great deal of courage. On the 29th of July Frederick William IV meets King Otto of Greece at Carlsbad and he dines with his "colleague". At Teplitz a family dinner with Francis Joseph and John of Saxony. He accompanies Charlotte as far as Swinemünde.

On the 3rd of September his last crisis is approaching, a *Putsch* by Royalist columns in Neufchâtel under Colonel Meuron and a Count Frederick Pourtalès. This "agitation" is put down the very day afterwards by the Republicans and Swiss troops; sixty-six prisoners have to appear before the State Tribunal charged with high treason. Frederick William IV is beside himself. He writes hurried letters to the Sovereigns of the Great Powers; none of them support him. A second, autograph letter to Napoleon is as follows: "The tone of my official letter to Your Majesty was cold and lacked the warmth which my personal feeling and my confidence in Your Majesty dictates. The moment has come when it rests with Your Majesty to gain a devoted and reliable friend, an admirer of the great abilities which have restored peace and security to Europe. . . ." "I write this letter with a bleeding

heart and tears in my eyes." Napoleon, a schemer and conspirator, who is already meditating war with Italy, and wants to play off Prussia against Austria, promises to use peaceable means of inducing the Swiss to release the prisoners.

In September Princess Louise is married to Prince Frederick of Baden. In December William speaks of Neufchâtel in a letter to Charles Alexander with the simplicity characteristic of his "consistency", and cannot help feeling that this time England—Palmerston, who is offended—is the obstacle in Prussia's way. "Just as our disagreements led to war at that time, when it might have been averted if we had been of one mind (as regards the Eastern question), so it will be now. The Speech from the Throne showed what the King is resolved upon, and the country made an enthusiastic response. God grant that this may have made an impression on all those concerned."

On the 2nd of December Manteuffel summons Count Hatzfeld and Bismarck to Berlin; mobilization is ordered. The Prince of Prussia complains to the Prime Minister that the reports which Count Harry Arnim has been told to send him have not been sent for the last five weeks. Manteuffel complains to the King. The Prince does not know how he can have given offence. He is "so glad to have been able to feel nothing but approval of the King's policy in these conflicts, from the very first." But he takes it very much to heart that his brother is giving Gröben the command of the 160,000 troops that are to be mobilized against Switzerland. He is nearly sixty, however, and remarks that sixty years are, after all, sixty years, otherwise he would surely have been selected in preference to Gröben. Then he remembers that Gröben is still older, and in writing to thank Natzmer for congratulations on his military jubilee, he says: "Think with sympathy too, of the General who is left behind!! because of Gerlach!"

There is no war over Neufchâtel. Prussia extends the period of grace for Switzerland till the 15th of January, and on the 16th the Federal Assembly in Berne sanctions the proceedings against the Royalists being quashed. On the 10th of February a Conference between the Powers is held in Paris under the presidency of Walewski. They ask the King of Prussia whether he would not be willing to renounce Neufchâtel in the interest of Europe.

Napoleon discusses the question of Prussian neutrality, "in case of our being involved in war with Austria", very openly with Bismarck, who is spending a few days in Paris, ostensibly "on leave", and points out how much he had done to oblige the King. The triumph of "revolution" rouses Frederick William's wrath. He refuses to divest himself of the title of "Prince of Neuenburg and Count of Valandis" and demands a fine of two million francs from Switzerland, an amnesty for the Royalists, the restoration of Church property that has been secularized since 1848, and so forth. A painful feeling at the Conference. The Powers propose terms of compromise which Switzerland accepts. The King by the grace of God is a Prince and Count, but he has lost the game. The sting remains.

On the 10th of April of this year (1857) William, Prince of Prussia, writes a synoptic "testamentary note", just as he drew up his "Confession of Faith" and "Vital Principles", at the age of eighteen. In it he says: "When my family read this, I shall be numbered amongst those who have passed away. God grant that I may commend my spirit into His hands in my dying hours! God grant that I may be able to take leave of my dear ones, those who survive me! Should sudden death overtake me, may my whole life have been a preparation for the life to come! May God judge me mercifully!" He looks back upon a "very stormy life". "The grievous disasters that befell my country in my childhood, and the loss of my beloved never-to-be-forgotten mother so prematurely, gave me a serious turn of mind at an early age." Then he speaks of the rising in 1813, and pays a tribute to the "Hero-King", whom his son extols, just as he himself is extolled forty years later, as William the Great, by the vanity of his grandson. Loyal reverence is expressed for "the King, my brother", who is a true friend to him as well, and whom he can never thank enough for it: "We have had happy but also sad times together, which, however, have only bound us more and more closely to one another, above all the earliest years, when treachery and differences of opinion brought our dear Fatherland to the verge of ruin. It is thanks to his graciousness and his confidence in me that I was able to restore order and discipline in Germany by his command, after he had set this example in his own country."

He thanks all his friends—"last thanks for their kindness to me". And then, in conclusion, like a preacher: "Almighty God, Thou knowest that I thank Thee for all that has been dear to me, and all that I have suffered here below. Into Thy hands I commend my spirit. Amen."

On the 15th of April he replies to von Orlich's congratulations on his birthday, "with some restraint, for Moses's eighty years are not to my taste". "I have to face the fact that I am now sixty, and I may perhaps be able to go on as I am for a few years, but the best of life is already behind one at that age, although it has had its evils as well. It will continue to be so, no doubt." He speaks of the cold and wet weather they have had at Coblenz, and storms that have destroyed the fruit-blossom after a lovely spring; discusses what Orlich says about his wanderings in Rome, the oratorical gifts displayed by the new English Cardinals Manning and Newman, and the fresh excavations, and writes about Palmerston and Lord John Russell and the contest over the taxes in Prussia. "The two parties meet in the Chamber to discuss retrenchment, each with the object of overthrowing the other. What will the end of it be? Probably the Right will carry the day, and then the Left will have helped to bring about the downfall of its own party! That is Parliamentarism!"

On the 29th of April he writes to Charles Alexander from Carlsruhe about the compressed meat that a French firm want to supply for the army, and about Louise and Frederick. "It does one's heart good to see their domestic happiness." Prince Napoleon, "Plon-Plon", "not only a Napoleon, but the worst of them all", William says, pays a visit to Berlin in May. In September Napoleon III and Alexander II meet at Stuttgart, where the latter has officially gone to see his sister, Queen Olga of Würtemberg. On the 24th the Prince of Prussia hands the Emperor of the French a letter from his Royal brother, in which the latter expresses regret for not being able to see him during his stay in Germany.

The reason is that his medical advisers are opposed to it, Frederick William IV is suffering from nervous exhaustion; his collapse has been hastened by alcoholic poisoning. On the 12th of June he was again at Marienbad, where he took the baths till the 5th of July. From Teplitz he went to Vienna in oppressive

heat. A hasty return journey. At Pillnitz a stroke, softening of the brain, loss of all power of speech. Sanssouci. Then complete imbecility, at the same time as Niebuhr's mental breakdown. The last official acts of the King by Divine right are to inspect the troops and preside over a Ministerial Council. The Minister of Justice, Simon, submits thirteen death-warrants for his approval. Frederick William IV, God's instrument of punishment, ratifies them.

The Prince of Prussia undertakes to act as his substitute for three months. "A dreadful 'Yes', as far as I am concerned", he admits to Charles Alexander; and on the 24th of October he writes to him that after the King had signed an authority to enable him to take over the business "he was rather exhausted, as I remarked from his pulse, but he slept for eight hours, and is very well to-day". The Prince consults the Prime Minister, the Minister for Home Affairs, Count Hatzfeld, Usedom, and General von Nostiz—"all the different shades of political opinion"—as to the length of the interval. It looks as though the King's memory were rather clearer. "I bear the heavy burden that has been laid upon me willingly", William writes to his nephew, the Grand Duke Frederick Francis of Mecklenburg, "in the interest of the King and, please God, not to the disadvantage of the country! The sooner I lay it down, the better I shall be pleased, for this would be the best proof of the King's recovery." He is also of opinion that the vicegerency should be temporary, as the doctors do not pronounce the mental derangement permanent.

Frederick William IV is incurably insane. The actual reign of the man who is soon to succeed him is already beginning.

G. F. von Busse, Frederick William IV. in the grounds of the Charlottenburg Palace (1856)

FOUR DAYS BEFORE taking over the vicegerency, the Prince of Prussia goes for a walk with Bismarck in the new grounds of the park at Potsdam. He asks him whether he ought to leave the Constitution as it is or demand its revision before assuming the reins of government. The Minister replies that it would be possible to reject the Constitution if the feudal law were applicable, according to which an heir is bound by his father's but not by his brother's decrees. As a matter of policy, however, he does not advise his raising the question. Prussia's prestige in Germany and her power to take part in European affairs would be diminished by a dispute between the Throne and the Diet. Might and domestic solidarity were now the essential. The aide-de-camp, Edwin von Manteuffel, now head of the military Cabinet, the "fanatical corporal", as Bismarck calls him in a letter to Gerlach, has observed this conversation and the long time it lasted. He has the orthodox *Kreuzzeitung* Party distrust of the Minister. When Bismarck returns to Sanssouci, he asks him why he does not go back to his post, where he must be very much needed in the present state of affairs. Bismarck: "I am much more needed here."

On the 28th of October William writes to Charles Alexander that the more active the King's mind became, the more he insisted on being given food and occupation that were still too much for him. He had had a bad night and a bad day. The Prince's task, under the provisional circumstances, tries his patience, as may be imagined. "I am like a hunted deer nowadays", he groans. The camarilla are not alone in thinking that he will not be a success. "I don't understand what the Prince's aim is", Gerlach says; "probably he does not know himself." At the beginning of the new year (1857) the full power to act is prolonged for another three months; Queen Elizabeth, as the sick man's wife, prevents its being put on a definite legal footing.

In the course of this January William has family duties to attend to as well; Frederick William and Victoria are to be married in London. On the 16th the Prince of Prussia telegraphs from Berlin to Maria Pavlovna: "Augusta arrived safely in

London at three o'clock, after a bad two and a half hours' crossing. She found them all well." Thus the wish she expressed to the Duke of Coburg, after the betrothal in 1856, is fulfilled: "May the union be a blessing to our beloved children, our family, and the poor German Fatherland, which can naturally only rise above its present position in alliance with England!" On the 25th of January William telegraphs himself from Buckingham Palace: "*Nous nous rendons en ce moment à la chapelle. Que Dieu protège le jeune couple. Je pense à vous.* Prince of Prussia." The young bride then makes her entry into Berlin, and is welcomed by the municipal authorities, to whom her father-in-law makes a speech. It has been an "historical event", William writes to Weimar. "She wins all hearts by the charming expression of her face, in which her sterling character is reflected."

In February he corresponds with the Emperor Francis Joseph about the Federal fortresses of Mayence and Landau. The former is to be strengthened, and the latter superseded by Germersheim. On the 1st of April his vicegerency is extended for the second time. Death of Alvesleben-Erxleben, whom William had contemplated asking to form a new Ministry, with Bismarck as Foreign Minister. The Prince feels how strongly the *Kreuzzeitung* Party are against him, and he speaks of it to the historian, Theodor von Bernhardi, and with bitterness about the *Herrenhaus* (Upper House), which, as Bernhardi says, "seems to be a real thorn in the flesh to him". He talks of "precipitate action" in the year 1848, but he is anything but reactionary. If certain people aspire to go back to the conditions existing before 1806, he can but express decided disapproval of that. Bernhardi objects that many would like to go even farther back than the days of the Great Elector. Yes, that is so, the Prince replies quickly, he is always telling the gentlemen that the Elector was obliged to eliminate the influence of the provincial Diets altogether, "when they wanted to have the upper hand". He does not know how things are going to be, and is annoyed, although he does not take any step that is not strictly in accordance with the Constitution. In writing to Roon, in whose military skill he feels more and more confidence, he says: "Should another six months elapse without a definite prospect of the natural supreme power

being restored, then those whose vocation it seems to be must think and act. I cannot take the initiative in the matter!"

On the 1st of July, third extension of the vicegerency. The Prince is taking the waters at Baden. The camarilla want the Queen to procure the King's signature to an official letter. It is to say that the imbecile is sufficiently recovered to take over the reins of government himself, and thanks his brother. Elizabeth would be the actual Regent, with the "gentlemen of the Court". Bismarck has also been verbally informed of the plan, and has rejected the idea of "harem-government". He is summoned to Baden-Baden, tells the Prince about the intrigue, without naming its originators, and advises him to telegraph for Manteuffel, instead of threatening to leave the army, which had been his first impulse. The King of Würtemberg is also at Baden-Baden, anxious lest there should be war between Austria and France; so is Cavour, who has been to see Napoleon at Plombières, and talks big about discreet agreements, his eyes flashing behind his spectacles. In August William is at Coblenz. He requires the Ministry to decide whether the present form of government can continue without infringing the Constitution. On the 9th of September the Ministry, pushed into a corner, unanimously pronounce in favour of a Regency. Elizabeth still objects to the word "Regent", as she wants to avoid a guardianship. On the 20th her brother-in-law informs her that he agrees with the legal view taken by the Ministry. The Queen holds the latter responsible for the bad effect its publication will have on the invalid's health.

The Prince of Prussia proceeds to action. The first thing is to get rid of Westphalen. Manteuffel is to hold back the letter of discharge until the Regent is in office. Von Flottwell is to be Foreign Minister. On the 7th of October Elizabeth shows the King the document, which is in reality a deed of abdication. Frederick William IV reads it in silence and signs it in silence. Then he buries his face in his hands, sobs like a child, and leaves the room. It is the bankruptcy of his life, which was one of splendour. "You can understand how upset I am", William writes to Augusta, "and that I could only find strength and refreshment in prayer, and trusting in God's mercy. Although

a weight has been lifted from many hearts, the real anxiety and trouble are only now beginning for me." On the 12th of October the late King and Queen, who are going to Meran, take their departure. Frederick William IV has been once more to Berlin, to the Academy of Art, and sits twice more in the Orangery, on a stuffed seat in the Raphael room, before leaving. He is very tired. Towards the end of the month he has another stroke at Meran. On the 23rd of November he arrives in Florence, where he stays at the Hôtel de la Ville, on the Lung' Arno. Then he goes to Viterbo, to Rome, where he remembers the public buildings, and to Naples. On his way there and back he sees Pius IX in the garden and the library of the Vatican. "Our good friend", he says, when he cannot describe someone he has half-forgotten. Directly he hesitates in the middle of a sentence, he is silent.

Both Chambers of the Diet have confirmed the necessity for a Regency, without discussion. The credit for this is chiefly due to Prince Anton of Hohenzollern. On the 26th of October the new Regent takes the oath before the "illustrious, noble, and beloved gentlemen": "I, William, Prince of Prussia, herewith swear as Regent before God that I will firmly and unswervingly maintain the Constitution, and reign in accordance with it and the laws of the Kingdom. So help me, God." The patriotic feeling that has been shown towards him has been balm to his wounded heart, as he writes to the Grand Duke Frederick Francis at Schwerin. But is the favour of the King's subjects trustworthy? "Who knows whether I shall still be popular in a fortnight or a month's time?" he says in a letter to General von Tümpling.

He dismisses Manteuffel's Ministry on the 3rd of November by writing officially to its head, to whom he gladly gives credit for having "saved the throne and the Fatherland from a serious disaster" as a member of what at that time was Brandenburg's Ministry, and been a faithful servant to Frederick William IV. But he, the Regent, had not concealed his divergent views. "It is a question partly of principle, partly of form, so that I cannot anticipate the agreement with my views and the unanimity of action from the present Ministry that are necessary for the further course to be pursued by the Government. In these

circumstances I have therefore decided to form a new Ministry, and have asked His Highness the Prince of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen to undertake its formation and to be the head of it; the Prince will accede to this request, impelled by family affection and self-sacrificing devotion."

William does not part from men whom his Royal brother trusted without deep emotion: "But looking at the future, I could not take the past into account in every case." That sounds, a decade after the revolution, like the announcement of what the newspapers will call the "new era". Manteuffel is to have the consolation of being created a Count, with the rank of a high Court official, and a life member of the Upper House. He refuses these distinctions, even, to the Prince's annoyance, "considers" before accepting the Order of the Black Eagle in brilliants, and makes himself disagreeable in the *Herrenhaus*. The new Ministry includes Bonin, who returns to the War Office in place of Waldersee, von Bethmann-Hollweg, the leader of the *Wochenblatt* Party, who succeeds von Raumer as Minister of Education and Public Worship, von Auerswald, the Guizot of 1848, and von Schleinitz, Foreign Minister under Brandenburg, who is now reappointed to the same office. A difficulty arises with regard to the Ministry of Finance, the post being finally given to von Patow, a Liberal member of the Erfurt Parliament, whom William disliked on account of 1848, but who has a very good name. The list as a whole acts as a check on reaction, and suggests Augusta's dictation. "What a remarkable woman!" Gerlach remarks. "She is conscientious and thorough in all she does, but at the same time incredibly impetuous."

The Prince makes a speech to the new Ministry on the 8th of November, which he has composed himself; at all events he reads from a manuscript with no corrections. No break with the past is his standpoint in this matter, either now or at any time. The welfare of the Crown and the country, based on "sound, strong, Conservative principles". No extreme measures, nothing but what is legitimate and can be done with a clear conscience. "What is arbitrary and inconsistent with the needs of the times must be altered, but for the present we must let what has only just been restored continue to exist." Finance: taxes in accord-

ance with the "true taxable capacity of the country". Trade and industry: an undreamed-of revival, but no bubble schemes. Justice: "Impartial juries". The Church: Equality between the denominations, religion not to be a cloak for political aims. That is still the William who hates the gloomy "Pietists": "All hypocrisy, mock-holiness—in short, all ecclesiasticism as a means to selfish ends—is to be unmasked, wherever that is possible. A man's true religion is shown by his whole behaviour." The Army: "Prussia's greatness." A first indication that fresh sums will be required for its development. "To make a fine show with a cheap army, which would not come up to expectations at the decisive moment, would be a mistake", the Prince says, "which would bring its own serious punishment. Prussia's army must be powerful and renowned, so that, when the time comes, she may be able to throw tremendous political weight into the scale." "Friendly agreement with all the Great Powers", but "without falling under foreign influences and without tying our hands prematurely by treaties." And preceding a platitude about prudence and moderation come the remarks about Prussia's "moral conquests" in Germany, through "wise legislation at home, the encouragement of all moral elements, and adoption of the essentials of union", such as the Customs Union, which is to be reformed. Sober reality and moderation—nothing melodramatic. But in a final appeal he says: "May we always work together in the interests of the country and the King by the grace of God." By the grace of God! For the moment Prussian Liberalism is satisfied with this programme. Simson, the President of the Chamber of Deputies, commends the "unimpaired power of the Crown", when he is received in audience, to present an address. And William replies: "We shall only try to improve upon the King's work—nothing more."

His pious sister Alexandrina warns him, on the 26th of December, that what has been put into his hands by God and his brother is only entrusted to him, and that sooner or later he will have to give it back. And on the 18th of January he replies that he had often discussed the changes with Fritz. "But he was too much in the hands of the people who wanted to keep those persons in office, and consequently had no power to act in accord-

ance with his better judgment." With God's help he would give a country back to Fritz with which he would be satisfied.

1859. The New Year opens with a panic on the European Stock Exchanges. Napoleon III says to the Austrian Ambassador, Baron Hübner, at the Tuileries: "I regret that the relations between our Governments are not as happy as they were." That is the gloomy prelude to the Franco-Austrian war. On the 26th of January Bismarck goes to see the Regent. He has heard that he is to be transferred from Frankfurt to St. Petersburg, consequently, as he assumes, in view of the differences of opinion between him and Schleinitz, "ostracized"; and he protests strongly against the choice of Usedom for Frankfurt. "The appointment of Usedom", he says to the Prince, in the way he has of speaking, "would shake the confidence of the German Courts, for he is a doubtful Liberal, and more of a Court *raconteur* than a statesman, and Frau von Usedom's eccentricity would involve us in difficulties and make an unfortunate impression in Frankfurt." "Apparently", Bismarck concludes, "I made a mistake in not marrying a tactless woman." He then proceeds to attack the Ministry—of which Count Schwerin, a Liberal, has just become a member in succession to von Flottwell. Bismarck: "Your Royal Highness has not got a single capable statesman in the whole Ministry, nothing but mediocrities, narrow minds." William: "Do you consider Bonin narrow-minded?" Bismarck: "Not that, but he cannot keep a drawer in order, still less a Ministry. And Schleinitz is a courtier, not a statesman." William, pettishly: "Perhaps you look upon me as a dummy? I mean to be my own Foreign Minister and War Minister; that I understand." Bismarck "protests"; but he goes on saying spiteful things about Schwerin's abilities. On the 29th of January he is appointed to St. Petersburg; two months later he leaves Frankfurt.

The Regent has another political discussion in January, and this time with King John of Saxony, the *carissimo*, who tells him that all the German reigning Princes are afraid that Prussia wants to absorb them; the Berlin street-boys are already talking about it. William harps on the fact that Prussia's existence must not be menaced by another party. He points to the map, and,

indicating Hanover, says: "Look at this! I must not on any account allow a Power to come into being between my provinces which might act in opposition to Prussia."

In February the tension between Vienna, Paris, and Turin occupies his attention, for, in case of war, Austria would demand armed Prussian help, and he tries to get into touch with England. Napoleon is only launching his *coup* in order to keep his Imperial throne; "*la guerre ou le poignard*", the Regent writes to the Prince Consort, "but the Italian, not the French dagger." Napoleon had hoped to find allies for his "*idée fixe*". "What seems to have struck him most is that there was so little sympathy for this kind of support of Italian conditions, particularly in England itself, at all events for the moment. That being so, I think it may still be said of Napoleon: '*Il recule bien pour le moment, mais il n'abandonne jamais.*'" Hitherto he was in the wrong because he had given provocation; now speeches against the "hereditary enemy" in the South German Chambers give him an excuse for representing that he has received provocation; yet the German Confederation is not prepared to mobilize. "I hold myself in reserve till the last moment, and quite independently", William writes in concluding a letter to Charles Alexander.

On the 22nd of March, his birthday (his grandson, William II in the history of the Hohenzollerns, was christened in Berlin on the 5th), he thanks Manteuffel for his congratulations. "War is in the political air", he says, "and no one knows why. Perhaps the great Congress of Ministers will preserve peace, as it has been proposed by Russia. The good Germans, in their enthusiasm, which can otherwise so seldom be roused, would almost have involved us in war on the Rhine before it broke out where it really was coined." He speaks of Austria's military preparation in Lombardy and Sardinia, and of the stormy state of affairs abroad, to General von Steinmetz at Königsberg, and then expounds the domestic situation since 1808, the rebirth of Prussia, which was thanks to his "lamented father", and the setback caused by the troubles in 1848, and says: "A fresh advance was made after the present King came to the throne, but it was perhaps too fantastic; . . . therefore my view is that it was time to turn

over a new leaf, and now that we have succeeded we have only to take care that the fresh wind does not bring a storm in its wake."

The vanity of the Habsburg monarchy rebels against the proposal, made by Russia, of a conference between the Great Powers; Austria would rather be hanged, Count Buol declares. The head of Francis Joseph's military Cabinet and Cardinal Rauscher, the Archbishop of Vienna, want war. The Archduke Albrecht comes to Berlin in April, as "a bombshell", William writes to his sister, "so a little cold water will have to be poured over him". He informs the Regent that the Emperor will send an ultimatum to Turin and compel Sardinia to disarm if she refuses to do so; then, if Napoleon helps Victor Emmanuel, Prussia must play her part. The Regent is bound by two paragraphs of the final treaty of Vienna of 1815, paragraph 46, concerning independent wars between German States and other countries, and 47, concerning the obligation of German States to defend Federal territory which is attacked.

The statement he makes to the Archduke (and he makes a note of what he says) is as follows: "If France breaks the treaty, violates German territory, and threatens the neutrality of Belgium, Switzerland, and Savoy, Prussia will enter the lists in full strength; but this is always assuming that Austria will now leave no stone unturned, and will therefore cease to put obstacles in the way of the Congress." He warns the Archduke against going to extremes; that would cause an immediate change in the favourable feeling now existing towards Austria in England and Russia, and therefore it was impossible to say in advance what Prussia and Germany would do. Albrecht stays with him for ten days. They take leave of one another at the Anhalt station. The Archduke hastens to say that he has just received a telegram from Buol saying that Austria would send a delegate to the Congress if only Sardinia does not attend it as a sixth Power.

Hardly is the Regent back in his palace, when he finds a telegram from Vienna on his table, saying that the ultimatum to Sardinia has been sent. The terms are: complete disarmament or war within three days. Buol has not signed it; Count Rechberg, the Minister accredited to the Frankfurt Parliament, takes his place at the Ballplatz. "You can imagine how angry I am",

William writes to Charles Alexander. "Paragraph 46 of the last Vienna Act is now the only one by which we are bound, and if France intervenes, in consequence of this provocation from Austria, the response to paragraph 47 will have to be very limited. *Voilà les suites*, when people will not listen. In twenty-four hours' time we shall know whether there is to be peace or war." A rising in Parma. Napoleon accuses Austria of disturbing the peace. Italy must have free access to the Adriatic. French troops are sent to Piedmont. Count Gyulai crosses the Ticino and occupies the Lomellina, where the troops remain inactive for weeks.

The Prince Regent has a domestic anxiety. He was walking up and down the rooms with Augusta after dinner, the latter holding a stick behind her back, to keep her upright. She went too near a glass screen, and, to avoid it, made a hasty movement, caught her foot in her dress, and fell on her face with great force, being unable to put out her hands to save herself. "I tried to help her up", the Regent says, "but she was unconscious and I could not lift her without assistance. I rang for the *chasseurs*, and together we carried her to a *chaise longue* beside her bed and put cold-water bandages on a bruise on her left eye. When the doctor came, he found her hands and feet quite cold, and ordered them to be rubbed and mustard poultices applied to her chest and feet. After a quarter of an hour she came to herself, but did not know where she was or what had happened and could not understand what we told her. There was no doubt as to its being a case of severe concussion." On the 1st of May Maria Pavlovna writes for the last time to her daughter, who is going to Baden-Baden for change of air after her illness. The Grand Duchess Dowager dies in June.

In the course of the month of May the Regent has a talk with Count Eberhard Stolberg, who wants to start a popular Conservative newspaper of absolutely the same tendency as the *Kreuzzeitung*. The Prince tells him that the proposals concerning civil marriage and the adjustment of taxes on land are substantially his own. "If I could show you my diaries, you would see that I have been persuaded of the necessity for these laws for the last five years. In short, this is my Ministry, and will remain

so as long as I live and reign!" But European complications are now more pressing than the question of the new era. Gortchakoff has several conversations in St. Petersburg with Bismarck, who cannot suppose that Prussia will go to war with Austria. The Russian Minister makes it evident that "Russia has given France a written promise to attack Austria, in case of her being victorious, in order to deprive her of her victory". Prussia must be neutral, together with Russia and England. "Now as Prussia must not and will not be bound by a declaration of neutrality", William says in a letter to Charles Alexander, "we are not secured against Russia in case of our having to join Germany in going to war with France. I have written to ask the Empress whether Sascha has remembered that he will be Mazzini's ally."

This is how matters stand as June approaches. On the 4th Gyulai is defeated at Magenta. Francis Joseph goes to Verona in person. On the 8th William asks General Wrangel whether he would take command of a central army on the lower Main, to act as a link between his main army and that of the left wing. He writes to Charles Alexander on the same date: "If it were not such a serious matter for us, one might be maliciously glad to see the Austrians so humiliated, after their refusal to listen to our advice. The second act is now beginning: France's presumption in expelling Austria from Italy. We cannot look on quietly at that. An effort must now be made to mediate, but I foresee that neither the humiliated party nor the one drunk with victory will desire it! Before any such negotiations can be set on foot, however, the Mincio will have been reached, and then neither Russia nor England will lift a finger to preserve Lombardy for Austria! *C'est la mer à boire!*" The Prince is also rather angry with Bismarck. The Grand Duke has received a letter from St. Petersburg about the "intrigues" of this "statesman", whose blindest passion is hatred of Austria. "Bismarck is anything rather than a German." Charles Alexander has heard of attacks being made by the Prussian Minister which were insulting to the German Governments; he seemed to make mischief instead of pacifying. William adds a postscript: "Unfortunately I hear a good deal about Bismarck from St. Petersburg that tallies with what you have been told, so he must be hauled over the coals."

On the 14th of June 180,000 men are mobilized. Prussia brings forward a motion in the Frankfurt Parliament to form an Observation Corps of 60,000 men, drawn from the two South German Federal Corps. Schleinitz does not comply with Austria's presumptuous demands, but he makes the dangerous concession of binding Prussia to "armed intervention, with the object of safeguarding Austria's territorial possessions", reserving the right to take "such further action as her position as a European Great Power and Germany's high calling may demand". That is almost a declaration of war on Napoleon. Austria is as little inclined to allow Prussia to take supreme command of the Federal troops as to tolerate her advice that the Emperor Francis Joseph should give his Italian subjects reasonable liberties. At the end of June Prince William, who is most indignant at being reproached with un-German selfishness, says to the German officers who are to take part in the military conferences in Berlin: "Gentlemen, go home and give the man who says that to you a slap in the face on my behalf." On the 24th of June he orders mobilization of the whole Prussian army. Frightful defeat of Francis Joseph at Solferino. The Austrians retire behind the Adige. They evacuate Lombardy, and on the 11th of July Napoleon and Francis Joseph conclude the amazing Villafranca armistice.

Public opinion in Germany is divided, and, as dynastic policy has led to such a fiasco, there is a fresh agitation in favour of union, for the first time since 1849, but it is now a Little Germany movement. The citizens of Stettin forward Prince William a request for a new German Central Power. His answer is that reform of the Confederation is desirable but not yet possible; Prussia must first give her attention to strengthening the army and creating stable legal conditions. This reply is too uncompromising for Stettin. What is wanted, they say, is "not uniformity, but unanimity". The citizens of Gotha ask Duke Ernest for a German Constitution. He becomes patron of the Eisenach *Nationalverein*, which assembles Liberals from all the German States at Frankfurt a.M., and whose South German members protest against the appointment of Prussia to control national affairs. The society is prohibited in Saxony, in the Electorate of Hesse, in Hanover, Mecklenburg, and Würtemberg.

Count Rechberg tries to incriminate the Duke of Coburg in Berlin.

In August the Prince is at Sanssouci, and he sees his brother, huddled up in a wheel-chair, half-falling over to the left, and stammering out incoherent sentences or syllables. "The King is just existing", William writes to Charles Alexander. He goes to Baden-Baden with his wife, and to Ostend. At Baden-Baden he meets Bismarck, who is recovering from neuritis and iodine poisoning. He discusses Prussian policy with him, and Bismarck and Usedom both recommend, in opposition to Schleinitz, that action should be taken in the Electorate of Hesse, where Hassenpflug still rules.

After Bismarck, Roon comes to see the Regent, to work out plans for the reorganization of the army, which is an item of William's programme. Towards the end of September he writes to the Duke of Coburg about the German question. He tells him that Prussia is not guilty of having neglected Germany or Austria's interests, and yet she is made the scapegoat. He bears all the abuse calmly. And then as regards Federal reform: "I could have wished that you had told me your ideas on the subject, and how you think they could be carried out. You will have seen from my answer to Stettin what view I take of the question. I have no intention of ignoring or impugning or setting it aside, but for the moment I see no possibility of proposing what would achieve the aim and what would be accepted, because it comes from Prussia. On the other hand, I will make practical proposals for the improvement of army organization."

In October the Prince meets Bismarck and Roon at Breslau. The latter is a man in whom he already has great confidence. Born in 1803, von Roon, who was of Dutch descent, was educated at the Kulm and Berlin military colleges, received his commission in 1821, and was attached to the General Staff in 1834. In 1856 William wrote to this Conservative of the old school, who thought himself too Prussian to act as Governor to the young Prince at Coblenz, and who went from the Rhine to Posen: "I can but regret your being sent so far away *en attendant*. Personally I take it very much to heart, for it puts an end to our intimate conversations, and that is a great loss to me." In June 1857 Roon has

another audience of the Prince at Potsdam; since 1858 he has been at Düsseldorf. He does not know whether any good will come of the discussions at Breslau. "Otto Bismarck, who is also here", he says in his diary, "gives me reason to doubt it." The doubt is not confirmed.

Early in December the Regent dismisses the War Minister, von Bonin, who had intended to speak in the Diet in support of the Army Organization Bill, but insisted upon three reductions for budgetary reasons: a reduction of the war establishment of battalions from 1,002 to 800 men; winter leave; no exercises for the older classes of the *Landwehr*, the younger classes of which should henceforward constitute the line regiments on mobilization. Bonin is given command of the Rhine Army Corps. On the 5th of December Roon is appointed Minister for War. He says that he can only be a "non-political professional Minister" in the "new era". William clinches the argument by saying: "If I had or knew of a better one, I should not have chosen you."

On the 12th of January the Diet is opened. The Regent's Speech from the Throne makes reference to the Army Bill, which will take civil as well as military interests into consideration. It is to be submitted to Parliament in February in the form of two draft Bills, dealing with the period of military service and a credit of nine and a half million talers. About this time the Prince writes two memoranda on reform of the Federal army system. "This was the state of the German army, which was expected to march triumphantly as far as Paris!!" he remarks. "Rarely has there been so great a fallacy!" In March another European crisis, the liberation of Italy, in spite of the peace of Villafranca, the annexation of Savoy and Nice by Napoleon, on the principle of "natural frontiers". The Prince does not fail to see that the term may be disastrous. He points out to the Prince Consort that no one is more interested in the question than Prussia and Germany, on account of the left bank of the Rhine, which might be claimed as a geographical line of defence just as much as the watershed of the Alps. "We are therefore more bound to speak out against such plans of annexation than any of the other Powers, lest our having sanctioned them might some day be cast in our teeth as a precedent, and also lest you and the

other Powers might compel us to give up the left bank of the Rhine at some future time, by your present acquiescence." But Napoleon takes Savoy and Nice, and Victor Emmanuel Lombardy and the Emilia.

The Prussian Army Bill is referred to a Committee, which votes for retention of the *Landwehr* in the army of the field and two years' service with the infantry. The Government withdraws its Bill. If it had originated with the Ministry, if he had only adopted it and it had been rejected, William writes to the Duke of Coburg, he would have had to dismiss the Ministers. But the Bill is his own, and had only been adopted by them. If it is not passed he will have to resign himself. The cudgels have been taken up. "Well, I shall yet be even with this wasps' nest", the Prince says in great displeasure to Theodor von Bernhardi. He complains of the "stupid democracy" in a letter to von Orlich. "I don't believe that financial considerations are the only difficulty in the way of the military question", he says; "the democracy see that it would deprive them of the possibility of making use of the undisciplined *Landwehr* troops for their own purposes, as they partly succeeded in doing until 1849. That is the motive concealed behind the money question." "Barricade heroes", he mutters in another conversation with Bernhardi, and adds that he has no objection to gymnastics in the schools, although it had been necessary to put a stop to them twice, because they had to do with political tendencies. The Diet votes nine million talers, conditionally, for the army, and is dissolved on the 23rd of May.

Garibaldi goes to Sicily from Genoa with his thousand volunteers. Napoleon lies, protesting his love of peace. Like the Regent, Saucken has been struck by the term "natural frontiers": Germany's natural frontiers must be restored; all the territory as far as the Vosges must come back to her. William replied that it would be a very long time before that could be done. But on the 25th of May he said, when opening the Rhine–Nahe railway: "Prussia will never allow even a foot of German territory to be lost." That is aimed at the Emperor of the French, who is trying to tempt Prussia with extensions of territory in the north in return for similar concessions to France in the west!! In spite

of that, Napoleon comes to Baden-Baden as William's guest in June. The Prince invites the German Princes to meet him. The Grand Duke of Baden is there, Max of Bavaria, John of Saxony, the King of Würtemberg, the blind, obstinate King George of Hanover, who has come through Berlin, and asked that the Emperor Francis Joseph should be invited as well, also the petty reigning Princes of Darmstadt, Nassau, Weimar, and Coburg. William gives them his word that he will not consent to any territorial changes at the expense of Germany or German States, and he receives Napoleon on the 17th of June, at seven o'clock in the evening, attended by all the Princes, who consider him worthy of being treated with the honour due to a King. An hour later he calls on Napoleon, who talks about peace and civilization, of Savoy as an exceptional case, of the Press scourge, of his commercial treaty with England and his wish to have a similar agreement with the Zollverein. "Tell the German Princes", the Prince says, "what you have said to me." Napoleon hastens to flatter them. He also goes to see the blind King of Hanover, who says he is not at home (he is in the garden) but ends by accepting the Legion of Honour, which pleases his vanity.

Napoleon leaves. The Princes discuss the Electorate of Hesse and the organization of the Federal army, and urge the Regent to suppress the *Nationalverein*. William breaks off the conversation when the King of Würtemberg wants to talk of this. He thanks his fellow-members of the Confederation in a speech composed for him by the Prussian Privy Councillor, Max Duncker, about the common Fatherland, the integrity of Germany, and hope of an understanding between Germany and Austria. He also refers to the divergencies in matters of domestic policy. Before the meeting he had told Leopold von Ranke that he wished to preserve the sovereignty of the German Princes, but to effect a unification in military matters which would give them powerful joint influence. After it he held his ground against the King of Bavaria, who was very unyielding. King Max: "The Regent's experiences in Prussia will be just as disappointing as those of many other Liberal Governments." The Prince: "Prussia will steer a middle course." "Austria", he adds, "has found the German Princes very docile pupils, and that is evidently

why they all look upon Germany with distrust, as the arch absorber of German territory." For the moment this distrust was more deeply rooted than ever. He must wait and see whether his last speech from the throne, and what he had said now in Baden, would dispel it. The King said that anyhow Prussia's policy as regards the Italian question the year before had done her harm, as it might have been supposed that she had intentionally allowed Austria to get into trouble. The Prince asks whether it has been forgotten that the Prussian armies were marching to the Rhine when the armistice and preliminary peace of Villafranca were concluded. Austria had sacrificed Lombardy rather than allow Prussia and the Federal troops to be victorious in France, and then she had complained of Prussia in the insulting Laxenberg manifesto. The King asks whether it might not be a good thing for the Prince to meet the Emperor Francis Joseph at Baden-Baden. The Prince says that the first step must be taken by the latter.

The reconciliation is brought about by King Maximilian and through a letter from the Regent to the Emperor, who sends an aide-de-camp to the Prince at Wildbad as early as on the 14th of July, and proposes Dresden. The Prince asks that the meeting may be at Teplitz, as he would rather not have witnesses. Negotiations take place there between him and Francis Joseph, Schleinitz and Rechberg, on the 26th of July. Austria passes lightly over the subjects of alternative Presidency of the National Assembly, reorganization of the Federal army, and agreements with regard to Schleswig-Holstein. She also turns a deaf ear to the suggestion made in the spirit of the "new era" that her general legislation should be more liberal, and that she should concede denominational equality. They are only agreed as to common defence against a French attack. And they have met. "I am sure that I shall not be left in the lurch a second time", Francis Joseph says to King John.

In October the Prince goes to Warsaw to meet the Emperors of Russia and Austria. Bismarck is also invited by the Tsar, and has a talk with the Prince of Hohenzollern, on whom he makes such an impression that he advises the Prince Regent to appoint him Foreign Minister. But Bismarck is too anti-Habsburg. The

Tsar is recalled by telegram on the 25th; his mother, Prince William's sister, the widowed Tsarina Charlotte, is dying. "He was very unwell himself", William writes to Alexandrina, "so we were anxious about his travelling, although he was in a closed carriage. Otherwise the visit to Warsaw was very pleasant, and meeting such a number of acquaintances, bringing back so many memories, always makes the *séjours* amongst those I enjoy most. Also, politically, I hope it may not have been thrown away." After Charlotte's death he says: "In losing her, we have lost what was part of our existence; I feel that more than anyone. She was always and ever the same, even when we did not agree."

On the 20th of November William hears of Josias von Bunsen's death. In writing to condole with the widow, from whom he had received kindness as an exile in 1849, he says: "Humanity has lost one of its noblest-minded and truest-hearted characters in Bunsen, the King and Fatherland an ardent patriot, and science one of the rarest intellects that ever existed. Who can help regretting him?!"

The King, that living corpse? On the 30th of September the Regent writes to Alexandrina of the invalid's gradual failure and loss of appetite, of the "miserable" state of affairs at Sanssouci. "The state of affairs in the outer world is just as melancholy as in our domestic circle. There may be very serious events in 1861. We must be prepared for whatever may happen." The doctor is just leaving. "Fritz shows no sign of consciousness, and does not open his eyes, so that it almost seems as though his eyelids were paralysed." On the 2nd of January William telegraphs to his brother-in-law at Weimar: "Our sorely tried brother's noble heart ceased to beat at a quarter to one o'clock; he passed away without pain, surrounded by us all. God bless him, and give us strength in our just sorrow."

King William I ascends the Hohenzollern throne, aged sixty-four.

THE KING

THE CONFLICT

LATER ON WILLIAM I said that in his young days the possibility of his ascending the throne had never occurred to him. As Prince of Prussia, he had acquired a share of authority in the State, alongside of his brother's personal régime, thanks to the inflexibility of a mind imbued with the traditions of the Prussian army, although he did not succeed in getting his own way in 1859, in face of the opposition to the military preparation he had urged in the Olmütz days and during the Crimean War. In internal questions he ushered in the "new era", but his obstinacy in letting his connection with the army outweigh every other consideration led to friction.

It is Germany's fate to have been remodelled on battlefields, by being forcibly deprived of valuable territory, and, as regards France, by the annexation of Metz, which was not conclusive either from the political or (in Moltke's view) the military standpoint, and led to the formation of fresh coalitions and to future war. All honour is due to William, as a Hohenzollern, for having thoroughly and most conscientiously adapted himself, against the grain, to a Germany of universal franchise; but he began his reign in Prussia with a struggle in which the three years' period of military service was an article of his faith, and sacrosanct (although the most practical of Prussia's military theorists, Clausewitz, recommended two years' service in a memorandum of 1858), but which in reality stood between the throne and a still ineffective representative assembly, half a century before the struggle between German parliamentarism and his grandson.

The conflict is very soon brought to an end in 1861. Frederick William IV is buried in the nave of the *Friedenskirche* in Potsdam, and on the 7th of January the new King's proclamation "To my people" is published. It begins with expressions of regret for the late King, makes reference in high-sounding language to the spirit of Frederick William III, the "Hero-King", speaks of 1848 as a "wicked agitation", and says that the present occupant of the throne desires to preserve his forefathers' sacred legacy: "In resolving to encourage and strengthen the patriotic

spirit of my people, I am steadfastly adhering to the traditions of my House. I will establish and consolidate the power of the State in its historical sense, and uphold the institutions set up by King Frederick William IV. True to the oath I took on assuming the Regency, I shall safeguard the Constitution and the laws of the Kingdom." Reference is made to Prussia's rank and importance in the Confederation: "It is incumbent on me, as a German Prince, to strengthen Prussia in the position she must take amongst the German States in the interest of all, in virtue of her glorious history and her magnificent army organization." Something is also said about loss of confidence in European peace and dangers that must be faced.

On the 14th of January the speech from the throne in the Diet. It admonishes the *Herrenhaus* to agree now to the proposed reform of the marriage law and adjustment of taxation which it had rejected, and the mediatized Princes do what facilitates a reconciliation between them and their monarch. The deputies obstruct the army reforms. Fifty members of the Left, led by Waldeck, want the additional cost of the new regiments struck out. The majority sanctions it for another year, less 750,000 talers, but as an extraordinary grant, not included in the Budget, and it supports a motion brought forward by Vincke demanding that the period of service shall be fixed by law. The session is at an end; there is a pause.

On the 25th of January William writes to Natzmer, "in one of his few leisure hours of the night", lamenting his "advanced age", which "leaves little time to accomplish anything more". In April he has another talk with Bernhardi, and says: "The King is not to reign; they want to reign themselves", but that must not be. In May he is upset by a scandal caused by Edwin von Manteuffel, the head of his military Cabinet. The latter, having been attacked by a member of the Berlin corporation in a *brochure* entitled *Who can save us?*, and been unable to get proceedings taken against him, challenges him to a duel, wounds him, is sentenced to a short term of imprisonment, and pardoned. Annoying as it is, William feels that Manteuffel must be suspended: "To have to forgo his services at such a moment, in addition to the triumph of the democracy in depriving me of

them, and the sensation such an occurrence in my immediate *entourage* must cause, is enough to drive me out of my mind, because these things bring my Government into fresh bad odour!! What is going to be the end of it all?"

The Liberal Party want the reactionary Chief Police Commissioner, von Zedlitz, to be dismissed. The King is indignant; their object is to deprive him of all his brother's faithful servants. He asks for a public celebration of his accession; the Liberal Ministers refuse to sanction the ceremony. Roon, the "professional" Minister, who frequently resigns and opposes his fellow-Ministers, is the only one who champions the Royalist cause on this occasion. He works upon the King "with language like glittering steel". To see tears in his eyes had roused his wrath. It "distressed him so much to feel that his beloved King was in such trouble and anxiety of mind". He feared for Prussia "the worst of all losses, the loss of her King". The army, that *rocher de bronze*, "would take this blow to the authority of the Crown very much amiss". "This will be the death of me", William writes on the margin of the letter in which Roon appeals to what is so sacred to him. "Ministers with a parliamentary past are ruination to Your Majesty", the General says of his civilian colleagues. William contemplates a change of Government. Augusta's influence succeeds in reconciling him to Schwerin's Cabinet. On the 3rd of July he informs the Ministry that he has decided on a Coronation, as the "supreme act", and will pay the cost out of his private purse. That means that the arrangements are not to be on an extravagant scale.

On the 28th of June, Roon, who is looking out for aspirants to Ministerial posts, has telegraphed urging Bismarck to take leave of absence from St. Petersburg and come to Berlin at once. Bismarck, however, has no wish to throw himself into the breach. He is true to the core to his King, but feels under no obligation to lift a finger for anyone else. The Government as a whole will not be able to achieve anything worth doing unless its foreign policy is more independent of "dynastic sympathies", and according to Bismarck the army question is the means to hand of dissolving the Chambers. He meets the King at Baden-Baden, and spends five days discussing, not the question of a

successor to Schleinitz, but a Federal programme with a Customs Parliament and military agreement.

On the morning of the 14th of July the King is walking in the Lichtenthal Allee with Count Flemming when he hears a shot fired, and feels a pain on the left side of his neck and a drumming in his head. He and Flemming turn round and see a young man standing close behind them who admits that he has fired at the King, and shows them a double-barrelled pistol lying on the grass at his feet. Onlookers who have hastened to the spot seize the young man and throw him down, exclaiming that the deed is a shame and disgrace to Baden, and must be avenged by the people. He is put into a hired conveyance and taken off to the police station. The King asks his excited captors to be merciful to him. A merchant from Paris tells him in French that the collar of his coat and his necktie are torn. The bullet has only grazed his neck. He fetches the Queen from Lichtenthal and walks home with her. The young man is a fanatical student from Odessa named Oscar Becker. William writes: "He told the police that I must be murdered, as I had not done enough towards the union of Germany." And the King feels that God must still have need of him. He drafts an account of the attempt which he sends to Natzmer: "An attempt to murder is always a very serious thing, but it is comforting to feel that God's mercy alone could and did save me on the occasion. The extraordinary expressions of sympathy I receive from all, and even from the most unexpected quarters, are also a great comfort to me. May this feeling be expressed in deeds as well, at all events in Prussia, so that we may not have a parliamentary session like the last, although the prospects of the next are even more red!" Becker is sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment with hard labour, of which he eventually only serves ten.

On the 17th of August William goes to Cologne, and on to Ostend on the 18th. Schleinitz and Count Bernstorff, the Minister in London, are with him. He finds the Grand Duke of Baden at Ostend with his new Minister, Freiherr von Roggenbach, who has a programme similar to Bismarck's for a closer German federation without Austria, and a Parliament elected by the people, which interests William very much. Schleinitz is obstinately opposed to it.

At the beginning of October the King is Napoleon's guest at Compiègne, without an official welcome. At dinner the Emperor remarks: "*Croyez vous que l'affaire d'un traité de commerce s'arrangera?*" and insists that he has no idea of annexing Sardinia: "The English are like children, who believe all the drivel they hear. There is not a word of truth in it." William puts a note of interrogation in his detailed report. They then talk about Schleswig-Holstein, about the King of Sweden, and Italy and Austria. The Emperor: "*Ah, L'Autriche est bien malade.*" William: "*Oui, c'est un grand malheur.*" That takes Napoleon aback, and he is silent for a minute. Then he says: "*Que pensez-vous du Nationalverein? est-il dangereux?*" William: "It is harmless so long as its members are not enabled to pose as martyrs, as in the Electorate of Hesse." Napoleon: "*La Prusse pourtant n'a pas à se plaindre de lui.*" William replies that a policy such as that pursued by King Victor Emmanuel is not in accordance with his principles, and the Emperor must admit that it is easier to upset four Governments than thirty-two. Napoleon smiles and says nothing. William alludes to the crisis in Russian Poland. Napoleon is silent. They go on to exchange polite remarks about peace and friendship. After the visit to Compiègne William appoints Bernstorff, not Bismarck, to succeed Schleinitz; and he proceeds to Königsberg for the Coronation.

The festivities last three days, from the 16th to the 18th of October. They are opened by a speech from the "War Lord" to the deputation from the army under Wrangel, with the Prussian Colours, which has been summoned to attend. "The Crown has come to me from the hands of God", he says very emphatically, "and when I shall have taken it from His consecrated table and placed it on my head, it will be His blessing that will preserve it for me. It is for the army to defend it, and Prussia's Kings have never known the army waver in its loyalty. It was the army that saved the King and Fatherland in the disastrous outbreaks that took place only a short time ago, and if I should have to call it up against enemies, I count upon its loyalty and devotion, no matter from what quarter they may come."

On the 18th the procession enters the *Schlosskirche* to the

strains of the Coronation march composed by Meyerbeer for the occasion. A bright sunny day after a wet night. William is wearing the crimson velvet mantle of the order of the Black Eagle; behind him Augusta, in white silk with a train of *drap d'argent*. The Regalia, borne on a gold brocade cushion, are placed on tabourets before the altar; the Prussian Colours are carried by Wrangel and the Sword of State by Count von Brunning. The bearer of the Imperial Seal, the Chancellor von Zander, has something in the nature of a slight stroke, but refuses to relinquish his functions, and has to be supported by the Minister von Auerswald. The King's throne is by the pillars on the right of the altar, the Queen's on the left, both surmounted by crowns and eagles; near them the semicircular tribunes erected for members of the Houses of Parliament and deputies from the provinces and capitals. The choir sing the hundredth psalm. After the sermon the Coronation prayer of 1701 is said, the one used to celebrate the promotion of the vain, empty-headed Frederick I from Elector of Brandenburg to be King of Prussia, a little Louis XIV, with his curled wig. The officers of the Royal Household and the fair-bearded Crown Prince, who is now thirty years of age, place the Coronation mantle over the uniform of a General worn by William. He bends in prayer before the altar, mounts the steps, takes the crown in both hands and places it on his grey hair. Whilst the blessing is being pronounced and the congregation say "Amen", he buries his face in the cushions. Then he takes the sceptre and the sword of State, and turns, extending his arms towards the invited guests. The sun shines through the church windows. That is the moment afterwards to be immortalized by Adolf Menzel in his picture of the Coronation; and it has a strange effect, for the attitude almost outvies the mystical Frederick William IV. Augusta sinks at the feet of the King, who places the crown on her dark hair. Both kneel at the altar in silent prayer. The King goes to his throne and wipes his eyes with his pocket-handkerchief. The Queen hurries up the steps of her throne in floods of tears. The fair-bearded Crown Prince kisses his father's hand reverentially; after him the Princesses of the House of Hohenzollern come forward to make obeisance, and the King kisses them on the

forehead. William goes out, and standing on the steps of the church in his Coronation robes and crown, he waves his sceptre three times towards the crowd.

Amidst the thunder of guns, pealing of bells, and singing of *Heil dir im Siegerkranz*, the procession disappears into the Castle. The King, surrounded by the Court and the Ministers, receives addresses from the President of the Diet and delegates of the East Prussian Diets, and he again replies, laying remarkable stress on the grace of God: "Prussia's Kings have worn the crown by the grace of God for a hundred and sixty years. I am the first King to ascend the throne since it has been invested with institutions in conformity with the spirit of the times. But mindful of the fact that the crown comes from God alone, I have shown that I receive it humbly from Him by being crowned in sacred precincts. I know that during this solemn ceremony my people were praying that the blessing of the Almighty might rest on my reign. The affection and loyalty I have been shown since I came to the throne assure me that I can count on the loyalty, devotion, and willing self-sacrifice of my people in all circumstances. Relying on this, I have been able to take the traditional oath of fealty to my subjects. The comforting proofs of affection and loyalty which I received on a recent disastrous occasion have justified this confidence. May God's Providence long give our dear Fatherland the blessings of peace. My valiant army will protect it against dangers from without. Prussia will be safeguarded against dangers within, because the might and rights of the throne are secure whilst the harmony between King and people, which has made Prussia great, continues to exist. By upholding these rights we shall be able to withstand the dangers of unsettled times and the storms that may be in store for us." The Archbishop of Cologne is amongst those present, and William promises Catholicism his sovereign protection. The city of Berlin is illuminated when he returns.

A fortnight later the news of Natzmer's death reaches him. The widow sends his Orders to the King and also the letters written by the latter to his old friend. In acknowledging them William says: "I lost no time in reading through the correspondence you sent me back, and sad as it made me feel in many ways,

I was glad to see that I missed no opportunity of expressing my gratitude to your husband and my friendship for him!" Berlin had been illuminated. But when fresh elections take place on the 6th of December a hundred Progressives and twenty-four Conservatives are elected, in spite of Königsberg and in spite of coloured lamps.

In January 1862 an incident, not connected with politics, gives an insight into the King's simple mind. Berthold Auerbach, the Jewish poet of peasant life, lectures at the *Singakademie* on the poetry of sorrow, and the King is amongst the audience. He, Louise's son, is astonished, and tells the speaker afterwards that this was the first time he had discovered what the term meant; "he had never known that there was such a thing, or had any personal experience of it". In February Beust has a scheme which raises the question of Federal reform again. Seven Governments—Austria, the four Kingdoms, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Nassau—send seven identical Notes to the Berlin Cabinet, which has proposed, in a dispatch, just as before, the erection of a Federal State within the Confederacy of States. William, advised by Bismarck and Roggenbach, now favours closer union at the Cabinet meeting, and when Prussia excuses herself from attending the Conferences demanded by the seven, it is with the King's approval.

In March the crisis in Prussia, which has been delayed, becomes acute. Roon tries to make the Chamber's Budget rights nugatory. Regardless of the speech from the throne on the 14th of January, the Chamber resolves that henceforth revenue and expenditure are to be accurately accounted for, as the Government have fraudulently diverted sums voted for other departments to the War department. Roon is prepared to give in. The Hohenzollern Ministry resigns. The King refuses to accept its resignation. He dissolves the Chamber on the 11th of March. The Ministry have failed to exert a "legitimate, active influence" on the December elections, he tells them. The deputies want gradually to change the parliamentary legislation which appertains to them into parliamentary government. "The dignity and power of the Prussian Crown must be protected and defended against encroach-

ments such as are intended by the Chamber of Deputies." The King declares that the next aim must be to guide and exert a legitimate influence over the elections. The present unfortunate state of affairs is due, he says, to their having been left to take their own course, as in 1858 and 1861, and if this continued, Prussia's hands would soon be tied, both at home and abroad. He awaits Ministerial proposals with regard to this with the least possible delay. The Liberal Ministers, however, repeat their request to be allowed to resign. Among their Conservative successors are Prince Adolf Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen as Prime Minister, von Jagow Minister for Home Affairs, Count zur Lippe Minister of Justice, and von Mühler Minister of Education. Roon, Bernstorff, and Heydt remain. That is the end of the "new era".

William, to whom his wife's annoyance is probably an additional source of irritation, writes two letters to Charles Alexander giving his reasons for the change. He explains that much as he regretted having to part with men for whom he had the greatest respect, and from whom he only differed in politics, they had felt that they could no longer be of service to him, not only on this account, but also because of their increasing unpopularity. Their fall was due to their not having prevented the present composition of the Chambers, and things had turned out just as he had warned them would be the case. His conscience did not allow of his making any further concessions. It might perhaps be more possible to do so with a new Ministry. "We are faced with a crisis, and God only knows what the outcome of it will be. I rely upon Him."

The Grand Duke expresses respectful disapproval of his brother-in-law's attitude. He warns him against antagonizing those who ask for the completion of the system of government introduced by the late lamented King, so that Germany may make progress in conformity with the spirit of the day. "How could it be otherwise?" he says. "For to disregard that spirit, and go back to the methods of bygone days, must necessarily be disastrous for Prussia and a fresh calamity for Germany. That God may guide you, save you from all reaction, and enable you to look with confidence to the future is my sincere wish." William then announces that he is coming to Weimar on the

8th of April, for the first time since Maria Pavlovna's death, and begs that he may be received as a brother-in-law, without a Royal reception at the railway station. He will go more fully into what the Grand Duke has said when they meet. "I will only say now that I am naturally sorry to find you agree with the democratic newspapers, which conjure up visions of reaction and Heaven knows what. The *Kreuzzeitung* gives ample proof that it is still dissatisfied with the situation. *C'est tout dire*. But it is hard that I should be intentionally misunderstood. The former Ministers unanimously declared that they could not govern with the Chamber, and at the same time that they were not in a position to provide a better one, and must consequently leave it to others to do this. We are doing it now, by actively and resolutely opposing the democracy—nothing more."

The result of the elections of the 6th of May is a complete defeat for the Conservatives. Not one of the Ministers is elected. Bismarck, recalled from St. Petersburg, is in Berlin. He has an interview with Bernstorff about the recent Austro-Prussian intervention in the Hesse question. The Elector of Hesse-Cassel has insulted General von Willisen, who was sent to him; the Westphalian and Magdeburg Army Corps have been ordered to advance. "The fact that the Elector threw down a Royal letter on the table is not a very good *casus belli*", Bismarck says to Bernstorff. "If you want war, appoint me your Under-Secretary, then I will undertake to supply you with a German civil war of the best quality within a month." Bernstorff is horrified at this remark, which also disgusts William with Bismarck. He is to go temporarily to Paris, to Napoleon's Court. He writes to Joanna that he is very glad of it, "but there is more in it than meets the eye. I was as good as secured for the Ministry. However, I must look forward to being recalled and kept here in a few months' or weeks' time. I am not coming to see you before going, as I want to take possession in Paris first. Perhaps they will discover another Prime Minister when I am out of sight." On the 26th of May he has a farewell audience of William at Babelsberg. On the 1st of June an audience of Napoleon, who has not grown at all fat or older-looking, Bismarck reports, and puts him somewhat in the position of Joseph with Potiphar's wife, with "the

most shameless proposals of alliance"; the Empress "still one of the most beautiful women". "In the meantime", he says in a letter of the 1st of June, "I am having my meals at a café. How long it will last Heaven only knows. In eight or ten days' time I shall probably receive a telegraphic summons to Berlin, and then I shall set to work in earnest."

On the 4th of June a letter from Roon, the conspirator: "I had an opportunity of bringing forward the question of the Premiership in the decisive quarter yesterday, and found both the old leaning to you and the old irresolution. What is to be done, and how is it to end? Hohenlohe's leave will be up on the 11th inst. He will not return except to send in his resignation, and then—yes then, I hope you will be recalled by telegram. All the patriots are longing for this. How could you hesitate and manœuvre then?" Roon knows that in the meantime Augusta has not given up her cause as lost. "In certain high quarters", he writes on the 16th of July, "I am more and more decidedly *la bête*, in others the *pis-aller*, the nail fully relied on to serve in case of need."

Bismarck, who is taking his holiday, spends six weeks in the south of France, at Biarritz and St. Sebastian. He bathes, is very sunburnt, and to his relief does not hear another word from Paris or Berlin. Describing this existence to his sister Malwine he says: "I climb and go about the whole day like a goat, lie in the damp grass without any fear of rheumatism, and grow a year younger every day."

In the meantime the King of Prussia is nervous and irritable, and he rejects every suggestion of compromise. Duke Ernest of Coburg is said to have encouraged the Prussian Liberals. William writes to him on the 28th of July from Babelsberg: "All the newspapers say that you have urged the members of our Chamber of Deputies to hold out in their opposition to me and my Government, and consequently against the particular apple of discord, the army reorganization. I must ask you point-blank to tell me whether you really have said anything of the kind to members of the Chamber of Deputies. If so, I cannot reconcile such a proceeding with your personal position towards me, still less with your position in my army. Any officer on the active list of

the army would be called to account for such views. That cannot be done in your case, but I owe it to my army to ascertain what a German Sovereign, who is Colonel-in-Chief of a Prussian regiment, thinks of the army and its organization, and whether he really intends to ruin it against the wish of his King." His King; that is going too far, for the Coburg Prince is not a Prussian vassal. It is not a question of the estimates; the Democratic Party only want to undermine the spirit of the army, so that it "may become a Parliamentary, not a Royal army". The Duke has already sent a notice to the Press denying the statements. After that William is more reasonable, and says that no one knew of his first letter, still less had induced him to write it.

In August the commercial treaty is concluded with France. And there is a marginal note on a death-warrant submitted for his signature that makes one reflect on the character of this ruler. He is in the habit of reading these documents through very carefully, apparently mislays them, and prefers not to find them until some "happy event" gives an excuse for a pardon, after the sentence has been commuted to one of penal servitude for life. "Are there no extenuating circumstances", he, the "butcher of Rastatt", asks the Minister of Justice, "which would justify the sentence being commuted to one of penal servitude for life? If at all possible, another day must be fixed for the execution instead of the 16th, for I never wish to know the day." Before the end of August the Budget Committee strike out all the additional expenditure on the army, and repeat their decision in favour of the 1863 army estimates.

From the 11th to the 18th of September seven days of negotiation in the Plenum, with a great many speeches. Bismarck's leave is up. "Certainty is necessary now", he writes to his wife, "or I shall resign then and there." He asks Roon how matters stand. He refuses to act on the advice of the latter to go and see William at Carlsbad, lest the King should suspect him of being ambitious. He is even willing to be Prime Minister without portfolio. On the 17th even Roon wavers. Even he advises the King to give in on the point of two years' service, which he afterwards regrets as a "feeble effort", "in which unfortunately the leading part had fallen to me". William is inflexible. He could not forgo the

three years; if his Ministers left him in the lurch, he would abdicate. The Ministers hasten to obey him; Roon denies hints he has given in the Diet. On the 18th a telegram to Bismarck; "The pear is ripe"—the cipher term. On the 22nd he says to the King at Babelsberg: "Do appoint Bismarck, Your Majesty!" William: "He won't want it, nor would he take it over now; besides that, he is not here; nothing can be talked over with him." Roon: "He is here; he will willingly obey Your Majesty's summons." The King bows consent. His simple uncompromising nature is still distrustful of this adventurer who, as he himself laughingly boasts, has a "reputation for wanton brutality". Bismarck had already remarked to Gerlach, in 1858, that it did not suit the Prince, who must be very carefully handled. In little more than two months there will be no trace left of this instinctive incompatibility in the relations between William and the "strong man".

Bismarck arrived in Berlin on the morning of the 20th, and was summoned to the Crown Prince's presence. The heir to the throne, who holds Liberal views, like his mother and his English wife, the Crown Princess Victoria, feels "disarmed" by his Father's threat to abdicate. He rather hesitatingly interrogates the diplomat, who is very reserved, in "a resentful sort of way". But the fact of the audience having taken place reaches the King's ears, and he becomes suspicious at once. "There is nothing to be done with him either; he has been with my son already."

When Bismarck is received by the King at Babelsberg, he notices the deed of abdication on his table. Is it signed? Bismarck is now fairly staggered. It must not come to that in Prussia. William: "I have done my utmost, and can see no way out. I cannot reign against my convictions. My Ministers are against me; my son has ranged himself on their side. You have been to see him too. If I cannot come to an understanding with you, I shall have this document published in the *Staatsanzeiger*, and then my son may see how he can get on. I should be acting against my conscience if I were to sacrifice the reorganization of the army, and that would seem to me wrong." Bismarck replies that he only went to see the Crown Prince because His Royal Highness sent for him directly he arrived in Berlin. When interro-

gated by the Crown Prince, he had said that he must first hear what the King wished. He begs the King to give up all thought of abdicating. The King holds the sheet of paper in his thin fingers. "Will you try to govern without a majority?" Bismarck: "Yes." William: "Without a budget?" Bismarck: "Yes." They go for a walk in the park. The King shows Bismarck a document of six or more quarto sheets in his small handwriting. "Look at my programme." Noting that the first part of it deals with the question of representation in the provincial Diets, Bismarck says: "Your Majesty, it is really no longer a question of whether the townspeople or the landed gentry predominate in the provincial Diets, but of whether the Crown or the majority in the Chamber of Deputies is to govern in Prussia. When this question is decided, the others will settle themselves. If Your Majesty has confidence in me, I am prepared to take office, but without a programme. In such a difficult position a written programme would be binding on Your Majesty as well as on me, and might under given circumstances be an impediment. The first thing is to decide the main question." Parliamentary rule must be prevented in any case, even if this were to necessitate a period of dictatorship. "I would rather perish with the King than leave Your Majesty in the lurch in a struggle with Parliament." They are standing on a bridge over a little gully in the park. William begins tearing up the programme and letting the bits of paper fall. Bismarck picks them up. "Would not Your Majesty prefer to trust them to the fireplace? They might be found here, and everyone here knows Your Majesty's handwriting." The King puts the programme into the breast-pocket of his coat, discusses the formalities in connection with the appointment, insisting that he will write to Prince Hohenlohe himself, and walks on, upright and stiff.

On the 23rd the Chamber decides by a majority of two hundred and ninety-seven to vote 31,932,000 talers for the ordinary expenditure on the army, but to strike out the additional costs. On the 24th Prince Hohenlohe and the Finance Minister, von der Heydt, are dismissed; Bismarck-Schönhausen is appointed temporary Prime Minister without portfolio. On the 29th a preliminary skirmish in the Budget Committee, on which occasion

he says that a constitutional crisis is an honour rather than a disgrace. "The great questions of the day will be decided, not by speeches and majority decisions—that was the mistake of 1848 and 1849—but by iron and blood. I picked this olive branch at Avignon"—he takes it out of his pocket-book—"to offer it to the People's Party as a token of peace, but I see that the time has not yet come for that."

The King goes to Baden-Baden for the 30th of September, Augusta's birthday. Early in October Bismarck goes as far as Jüterbogk to meet him. He waits for him in the still unfinished railway station full of third-class travellers and workmen, sitting on an upturned wheelbarrow in the dark. "I had some trouble in discovering the ordinary first-class compartment in which the King was seated alone in the regular train. He was obviously depressed, as a result of his meeting with his wife, and when I asked permission to tell him what had been going on during his absence he interrupted me by saying: 'I foresee exactly how this will all end. They will cut off your head, and later on mine, on the *Opern Platz*, beneath my windows.' I guessed that during his week's stay in Baden he had been worked upon by variations on the theme of Polignac, Strafford, and Louis XVI, and I was afterwards assured of this by witnesses. When he was silent I merely remarked shortly: '*Et après, Sire?*' 'Yes, *après*, we shall be dead then,' the King replied. 'Yes', I continued, 'we shall be dead then, but we must die sooner or later, and can we perish more creditably?—I myself in fighting for the cause of my King, Your Majesty in sealing your Divine Right with your blood? Whether it is shed on the scaffold or on the battlefield makes no difference to the fact that you would be gloriously staking your life for the rights conferred on you by the grace of God.' "

The King listens gratefully; he becomes the normal Prussian officer, in the dark compartment. "He was relieved of anxiety as to any criticism that might be passed on his political manœuvres by public opinion, history, and his wife. He felt himself entirely in the position of the principal officer of the Prussian army, for whom death at his post would be an honourable ending to the task allotted to him." From having been weary and depressed,

he becomes cheerful, even before reaching Berlin, and when he arrives there, the Ministers who have to welcome him are struck by his good spirits.

During the next few weeks he receives addresses "got up in the Wilhelmstrasse", and deputations promise to be faithful to him. He speaks to each of them, and on each occasion he then goes out without further ado. To the citizens of Halle he says that he will uphold the Constitution "so long as they themselves do not take it out of his hands". To a Berlin deputation, turning Bismarck's new theory of a "gap", a state of emergency, to account, he says that where the Constitution does not suffice, the Crown must fill the gap. To the Pomeranians he speaks of the military reorganization being "my own particular work and my pride". "There is no Bonin and no Roon scheme; it is my own." To men of the Mark from Teltow, Templin, and Frankfurt on the Oder: "To weaken Prussia's might would also imperil Prussia's task in Germany, namely to bring about, not German uniformity, but the unification of Germany." To a "patriotic" Berlin group: "I can bear a great deal, because I stand above parties; but I must mention one thing that has most deeply grieved and upset me. The Berlin Press so far forgot itself as to misinterpret the words of a hymn that everyone knows and sings—*Gott sitzt im Regimente* [God reigns.—Tr.]—in reporting a sermon, making it appear as though the intention had been to refer to me personally as the Deity. One could hardly suppose such a misrepresentation possible in Prussia, as its only object is to make the people believe that the King contemplates such an interpretation."

On the 20th of October, after the *Herrenhaus* has rejected the budget sent up to it by the Chamber of Deputies, by a hundred and fifty against seventeen votes, the session comes to an end. Bismarck announces that the Government will defray the expenditure which is indispensable for the welfare of the country until the budget is legally fixed. He completes his Ministry. Von Bodelschwingh becomes Minister of Finance and Count Frederick Eulenburg succeeds Jagow as Home Minister—"work-shy and pleasure-seeking", but next to Roon the most capable. Bernstorff goes back to London; Bismarck himself takes over his depart-

ment. On the 1st of November he is in Paris, at St. Cloud, for a farewell audience of the Emperor Napoleon. The King is still worried, and says that he never has a good night. And yet he is still so extreme in his military policy that he calls a proposal of Roon's, that might somewhat diminish the difficulties, a "death-warrant for the army".

At the beginning of 1863 he writes again to a critic of his methods, Colonel von Vincke-Ollendorf, who helped him in his flight to Hamburg: "That even you should agree that I am not aware of what the greater part of my people feel, is incomprehensible to me; you cannot have read my answers to the many loyal deputations I have received. I have repeated over and over again that my confidence in my people is unshaken, because I know that they trust me, but I condemn those who want to rob me of their affection and confidence because they could only carry out their plans if this confidence was shaken. All the world knows that to them any means to this end are justifiable, for nothing but lying and cheating can enable them to achieve their aims." Anyone who cuts down the budget as this Diet has done "is only fit for a lunatic asylum". "Has anything more infamous ever been done to discredit the Government and bewilder the people?"

On the 14th of January the Chamber of Deputies meets. An address, drafted by Virchow, accuses the Government of having violated the Constitution. At the sitting of January 27th Bismarck has to refer to the birthday of Prince William, who is four years old—William II. "On the occasion of to-day's battle", the King instructs his Minister to say, "I intended to call your attention to the fact that this is the birthday of my grandson, consequently, D.V., my second successor, which might perhaps be referred to with an empty expression of patriotism, if that should be convenient. Well, good luck to you! But it is obvious that the second Chamber has abused its power and helped to ruin the country; that the *Herrenhaus* has also made use of its power and ranged itself on the side of the King; that there is a flaw in the Constitution; and that the King has therefore been compelled to consult nothing but his duty as King, and is carrying on without a budget until supplementary estimates are proposed and voted

by the second Chamber." Bismarck refers to the "heir presumptive to the throne", and extols the Prussian kingdom.

Virchow's address is adopted, two hundred and fifty-five voting for and sixty-eight against it. The King refuses to receive the deputation from the Chamber of Deputies. The address lies on his table on the 1st of February, at half-past seven in the evening. He answers it in writing, even defending the punishment of "individual officials and *Landwehr* men" as something that does not concern the Chamber. On the other hand, he thanks the *Herrenhaus*. On the 30th of January he has a talk with the English Minister, Sir Andrew Buchanan, about the German question, and he corrects the dispatch the latter is just about to send to London: "I did not say that neither I nor my son nor my grandson would live to see the unification of Germany; what I said was that I should probably not live to see it, but it was to be hoped that my son or grandson would."

February brings a fresh imbroglio, the armed rising of the Polish National Committee against Russia—a matter which may easily cause a revolution in Posen as well. William sees that, writes an autograph letter to his nephew Sascha, and commissions General von Alvensleben to take it to St. Petersburg and go on from there to Warsaw. According to the King's instructions, which the General is to convey, the Russian and Prussian Courts are "two allies, threatened by a common enemy". Gortchakoff, who is in favour of "cutting out the festering sore", but afterwards supports the Grand Duke Constantine in favour of a mild régime in Poland, does not conceal his annoyance at the unsolicited offer of help from Prussia, and proposes a written agreement, at the Tsar's bidding. Alvensleben sends a draft of it to Berlin; Russian and Prussian army commanders are to give one another mutual support, and "in case of need are even to cross the frontiers to punish rebels who may go over from one country to the other".

Gortchakoff adds a secret clause to it, stating that all information as to political movements concerning Posen will be passed on to the Prussian Commander-in-Chief. Directly the document has been signed he tells the French ambassador, the Duc de Montebello, all about it. Napoleon, who is obliged to favour the

cause of Polish freedom, is very indignant, and tries to rouse London and Vienna against Prussia. Nothing but Bismarck's dismissal can restore satisfactory relations, he says to Count Robert Goltz, Prussia's Minister in Paris until 1869. But a painful surprise also awaits Bismarck from Russia. The Duke of Oubril informs him of the Russian Government's opinion that the authority to cross the frontier should be cancelled. "Now that the convention has been qualified", William writes to his Prime Minister, in order to save the convention itself, "it seems to me to require a further modification, namely, if the Russians drive the rebels on to Prussian territory, our commanders on the spot should first be bound to request the rebels to lay down their arms, in order that they may be taken back across the frontier, in accordance with the agreement, and only in case of their refusing should they then be told that they would be driven back by force of arms. After the qualification in question, all that is left is that the rebels cannot take refuge in Prussia. Talk to Roon about it." Gortchakoff takes advantage of this to make it appear as though Prussia had wished to water down the alliance; and the Tsar, who believes this, is annoyed about it.

On the 5th of March, William writes to Bismarck: "My son gives me the same report from King Leopold"—the Coburg King of the Belgians—"as that contained in to-day's telegram from Count Goltz, namely, that Queen Victoria's calm and collected attitude has frustrated France's efforts to win her over to her side, and he, the King, has also done his part towards averting great dangers from us up to the present time. The left bank of the Rhine is Napoleon's aim." The Prussian Chamber of Deputies protests against the police service for Russia. It must make every Prussian blush with shame, Waldeck says. Bismarck is very violent against Unruh's Liberals. Grabow, the President, calls upon him to keep to the question. Bismarck refuses to be interrupted; the King is his only superior, and he is entitled to speak in virtue of the authority conferred on him by the King. The majority demand strict neutrality, after a three days' heated debate.

On the 17th of March the foundation-stone of the memorial to Frederick William III is laid in the Lustgarten. Writing of

this to Charles Alexander, William says that the ceremony went off without any disturbance or accident, and made a great impression on those present. "Whether it will have a good effect on our general circumstances I cannot say, for so long as this Chamber and this Press, which only lives on lies, continue to exist, there is nothing to be done." On the 6th of April: "Each must act in accordance with his own conscience, then one at least has peace of mind. That has again been very clear to me in my dealings with political affairs. I should probably have had a rising in the Polish part of the country through bands of rebels coming across who now avoid my frontiers like the plague and infest Austria, who still seems to me to play a very equivocal part, although up to now I have nothing but praise for her resistance to the French cupidity, and have said so. But how long will this favourable disposition towards us last? As a rule, it only lasts as long as there is a common danger!" Austria, who is trying to tempt Napoleon with Schleswig in exchange for Venetia, interferes with France and England in St. Petersburg; Russia rejects these Notes.

Late in March William is present at a performance of *The Secret Agent* at the Royal Theatre. The *Vossische Zeitung* says that the audience applauded the remark in the play that the Ministry should be dismissed. William writes to Bismarck that the remark applauded was "You know that I have the good of the people at heart". He had wanted to get up and bow his thanks. In April he annotates a memorandum by Ernest II. A marginal note states that he himself takes a gloomy view of Napoleon's plans. He had never contemplated an alliance with France. Duke Ernest: "The German people find themselves deserted by Prussia." William: "On the contrary, Germany is deserting Prussia because the latter does not share the revolutionary ideas of the Progressive Party, and she does not see that Prussia is the bulwark against a Republic." Duke Ernest: "Prussia has no allies." William: "Directly there is any danger, Prussia is in great request—history teaches that."

On the 11th of May Roon takes a leaf out of the "strong mans" book. He accuses the Opposition of "unjustifiable presumption". The President interrupts him. Roon: "I will not be interrupted; the President's authority does not extend to the Ministerial

benches." Great uproar. The President puts on his hat, in accordance with the English Parliamentary ritual, and declares the sitting adjourned. The Ministry make their future attendance conditional on the President not repeating this behaviour. Bismarck works against the House on the strength of a Royal message. The Chamber adopts an address to the head of the State, by two hundred and thirty-nine to twenty votes, stating that it refuses to carry on any business with this Ministry.

Another message from the King on the 26th of May: "My Ministers possess my confidence; they have acted with my approval, and my thanks are due to them for having made a point of opposing the unconstitutional efforts of the Chamber of Deputies to extend its powers." On the 27th of May the session ends. About this time William is troubled with kidney disease. The doctors recommend Carlsbad with an after-cure. The brother-in-law at Weimar urges him to go to the seaside. His not having gone to Ostend the year before was not his own choice, William writes back, but the result of the deputies' "unwarrantable behaviour": "People who talk of loyalty and patriotism, and whose idea of it is that it would be better for the Fatherland to perish than for them to abandon their theories —that sort of thing is intolerable."

The Crown Prince now thinks it time to intervene. On the 31st of May he goes to West Prussia for a military inspection. On the 1st of May the obnoxious "Press decrees" are published; the constitutional freedom of the Press is abolished; the administrative authorities can prohibit the publication of any newspaper or periodical either for a short period or altogether, on the ground of its being a constant menace to the safety of the State. The Crown Prince protests to his father against this ukase, of which he had not been told beforehand; he doubts its validity and its political value. On the 5th of May the heir to the throne is received by the Chief Burgomaster at Dantzig. The latter openly expresses regret that the circumstances did not permit of public rejoicings. The Crown Prince: "I too regret having come at a time when a disagreement has arisen between the Government and the people, of which I have heard with very great surprise. I knew nothing about the decrees which have led to it. I took

no part in the deliberations; I was away. But we are all—I more than anyone, for I know how noble and patriotic His Majesty the King's intentions and feelings are—we are all confident that under his rule Prussia is sure to achieve the greatness ordained for her by Providence." Filial piety and yet undisguised opposition.

William is annoyed; he writes severely reproving the Crown Prince. The Crown Prince asks his father's forgiveness for any pain he may have given him, but he did not know how to act better with regard to measures which seemed to him so fraught with danger to his own and his children's future. Bismarck had kept him in complete ignorance of the proposed decrees. He suggests that His Majesty should relieve him of all his military and political offices. That comes home to the King, particularly as he himself had hurled defiance at his Royal brother in almost the same way, at the time of the Olmütz crisis. Bismarck, the student of men, wisely intervenes, but he will not forget it against the Crown Prince. On the 10th of June he drives with William from Babelsberg to the New Palace, to inspect the Lehr battalion. They talk French, so that the coachman and footman on the box may not overhear anything. Bismarck tells his master that for State reasons a disagreement within the Royal House must be treated as lightly as possible and not a word said about it. "Deal very gently with the young man Absalom." For Liberal clergy had already alluded to the history of David in sermons. His Majesty must avoid any *ab irato* decision. He also reminds William of Frederick William I and the prisoner of Cüstrin; it would not do to make a martyr of the Crown Prince.

The King continues to find fault with his son; he had hoisted colours which gave the people their choice between him and Frederick William, and obliged him to be silent. But the substance of this correspondence is published in *The Times*, which makes more point of the Crown Princess's Liberalism than of anything else. Frederick William believes Bismarck is carrying on an intrigue. "If secret intrigues have been resorted to", he says to his confidant, Duncker, "then indeed my power is at an end, and I should not be much surprised if Bismarck had managed to get possession of papers through a system of espionage which

is not uncommon in certain circles." Bismarck institutes proceedings against Duncker in connection with the publication in *The Times*, just as he did against Geffcken a quarter of a century later, in revenge for the Emperor Frederick's diary. The Crown Prince takes refuge from the Ministerial Council in the green highlands of Scotland.

In July, William, who has been at Carlsbad, goes to Gastein. Bismarck accompanies him. From this valley, surrounded by jagged snow mountain peaks, he writes to his wife that the King is well, only he had sprained his ankle. On the 2nd of August Francis Joseph comes, to invite William to attend a meeting of all the German Princes at Frankfurt a.M. on the 16th. A decision is to be reached with regard to a new Federal Constitution drafted by Schmerling, the Austrian Minister for Home Affairs, a black and yellow "old-Liberal" statesman. The idea is that there should be a Federal Directorate, consisting of five members, and a consultative, not legislative, Federal Parliament, composed of delegates from the German Diets.

William and Francis Joseph have three conversations without witnesses, about Prussia and Austria, and also about Poland. William has various objections. "Finally"—this is how he recapitulates his hesitation in a written memorandum for Vienna—"we have to consider what impression it would make if, having effected nothing, the Congress were to break up in greater disagreement than when it met. There has been no meeting of the kind since the Vienna Congress. What a sensation it would make, what expectations would necessarily be roused! There must therefore be some guarantee of its success, and consequently preparation which will ensure that is essential. The greater the expectations roused by such an exceptional step, the easier it will be for revolution to represent the result as unsatisfactory and hold the monarchs taking part in it personally responsible for this." That is the work of Bismarck, who had already threatened the Minister, Count Karolyi, with the possibility of Prussia's withdrawal from the Federal Parliament, in December 1862, and this year will demand a German Parliament elected by direct universal suffrage, and equality between Prussia and Austria as regards the Presidency, an iron-handed despot who would rouse hell. To him

Schmerling's proposal is only "froth", a "manœuvre", an "anti-Prussian diplomatic move".

William refuses the invitation which Francis Joseph gives him for the 31st of July, "when he", the Emperor, "was getting into the carriage to go away". Since then William has heard—so he writes to Charles Alexander—"that Bavaria, Saxony, Darmstadt, and several others had been still longer in the secret. Consequently this most important matter had been settled behind my back, and my being informed of it became a farce". "On the 18th you will perhaps proclaim him German Emperor, and then? All this without Prussia? What can I do in that case but separate from Germany?"

The meeting of Princes at Frankfurt is held with great pomp. Guards of honour are posted before the quarters of all the Sovereigns. The Grand Duke Frederick Francis of Mecklenburg-Schwerin suggests William's being invited again. The latter has gone from Gastein to Munich, to see his cousin, Queen Marie, the daughter of his Uncle William, and to Wildbad, to see Elizabeth, his brother's widow; and both of them have tried to persuade him to make himself agreeable to Francis Joseph. He is now at Baden-Baden with Bismarck. King John of Saxony arrives as the Princes' messenger. William is on the point of saying yes, he will go to Frankfurt. "An invitation from thirty Princes brought by a King", he exclaims—"how can one refuse that?" But Bismarck reduces him to submission. At midnight he is able to hand the Saxon the letter of refusal. The door slams behind John. Bismarck savagely breaks off the door-handle in his fury: "I had to break something, now I can breathe again." But even William is quite exhausted. "Yesterday evening", he writes on the 21st to Charles Alexander, "I was so upset by the agitation of the day, and cried so much at my daughter's house, that I am quite miserable to-day. The struggle between my convictions and such a distinguished invitation is one that must be fought out to be understood!" Postscript: "Forgive the smudge; I am only just out of bed!"

September and Berlin. On the 4th the Prussian Chamber of Deputies is dissolved. "The Ministers were here at nine o'clock this morning", Bismarck writes to Joanna; "they came a second

time at one o'clock, and with them the King. The result of all the consultations is the dissolution of the Chamber, which does not commend itself to me, but there was nothing else to be done; God only knows what the use of it is. Well now the election game begins." The Frankfurt draft Constitution is occupying the King's attention. The Sovereigns have adopted it by twenty-four to six votes; the six are Baden, Schwerin, Weimar, Luxemburg, Waldeck, and Reuss. It is sent to Berlin with a collective Note. "You can imagine", William writes to his brother-in-law, "that I was delighted to find that you and six other Princes have kept a back door open at Frankfurt a.M. to enable you to escape without loss of credit from the trap in which you have been caught, in spite of my warnings." Full equality with Austria is William's fundamental principle, too; and on the 22nd of September the draft is formally rejected.

But a question now arises which has again become European since the spring, namely, the fate of Schleswig-Holstein. On the 30th of March, Frederick VII of Denmark, disregarding the London Protocol, which guaranteed the independence of the two Duchies within the Danish kingdom, united Schleswig with Denmark by a "Patent" and forced a Constitution upon Holstein, who was still to "pay tribute and taxes". The German people, represented by the *Nationalverein*, are faithful to the idealism of 1848. Bismarck hesitates and delays. As in December 1862, he "cannot consider it in the interest of Prussia to carry on a war in order, at the best, to set up a new Grand Duke in Schleswig-Holstein who votes against us in the Confederation because he is afraid of Prussia's hankering after annexation, and whose Government would be a willing object of Austrian intrigues". In spite of this, Federal action is decided upon on the 6th of October. At the same time Bismarck counts on averting it by "honourable means".

On the 14th of October a Prussian Cabinet Council is held, over which the King presides. Peace is to be preserved if possible, but the War and Finance Ministers are to estimate the cost of defending the coasts and raising troops. On the 28th fresh elections to the Chamber of Deputies; no change. On the 5th of November Napoleon's Speech from the Throne—a Congress of European

Sovereigns as the Supreme Court of Arbitration. "The treaties of 1815 have ceased to exist." This is a new anti-Austrian move on the part of Napoleon, whose Imperialism is again influenced more by the Italian than the Polish question. William receives Napoleon's letter of invitation and suggests that it might be a conference between the leading Ministers; the Sovereigns could surely appear subsequently.

The Danish complication is the main business at present, however. On the 13th of November the *Riggsraad* in Copenhagen decided that Schleswig should be incorporated in Denmark. On the 15th the Prime Minister Hall comes to Glücksburg for the King's signature. Frederick VII is suffering from suppuration and erysipelas caused by a nasal swelling, and is at death's door. Hall places the document before him. "I will not sign", says the dying man; "Christian may do it." As the King has no male descendants, the "Protocol Prince" Christian of Glücksburg, whom the Great Powers appointed heir in 1852, succeeds him as Christian IX. But the Government of the Duchies claims a Prince of the collateral branch, on the ground of male hereditary right, Frederick of Sonderburg-Augustenburg, with whose father, Christian Augustus, the Prussiau Federal Minister Bismarck-Schönhausen had negotiated with regard to his renunciation of the right. Frederick, the son, is not legally bound. As a German he is welcomed by national feeling throughout Germany. He is the "Grand Duke" for whom, with a view to capturing the Duchies for the Prussian Crown, Bismarck is unwilling to smooth the way. "A mighty chorus", Sybel writes, "of Societies, assemblies, municipal magistrates and other corporations was heard; the Committee of the *Nationalverein* paid homage to Duke Frederick; resolutions were passed and collections made everywhere, and there was frequent talk of raising volunteers." The Republicans make jokes about the thirty-third reigning Prince.

On the 18th of November the Duke has an audience of William, who is reserved and unprejudiced on the legal question, but "most kind and sympathetic". On the 21st the "Press decrees" are cancelled, at William's wish. "It seems to me to be only a question of defending the legality of the decree of June 1st", he

writes beforehand to Bismarck, "not of defending its being kept in force, as proposed by the *Herrenhaus*. I only ask for a few words in answer, and advise moderation above all, as we have reallya chieved what we wanted, five months' peace!" On the 26th a Council meeting at the Royal Palace. William refers to the excitement in Germany, "which indeed is patriotic, but also seems to be combined with individual revolutionary elements; this necessitates active steps being taken to turn it in the proper direction". The Augustenburg Prince had not, indeed, been a party to his father's renunciation of his title, but Prussia and Austria had recognized Christian IX's succession in London, whilst preserving the rights of the Duchies. In spite of their having been infringed by Denmark, Prussia could not break with the London treaty. Federal action was the only possibility. Instead of "reserve" troops, he, the King, would mobilize the 6th Brandenburg and 13th Westphalian Divisions, and the Guards. A bill must be submitted to the Diet respecting the costs.

Bismarck is in favour of annexation, with his habitual cynicism. "I reminded the King", he says, "that all his nearest ancestors had won an addition to the State, not excepting even his brother: Frederick William IV, Hohenzollern and the Jahde territory; Frederick William III, the Rhine Province; Frederick William II, Poland; Frederick II, Silesia; Frederick William I, West Pomerania; the Great Elector, East Pomerania and Magdeburg, Minden, etc., and encouraged him to do the same. What I said as to this was not recorded in the minutes. Costenoble, who was responsible, said, when I spoke to him about it, that the King thought I should prefer my remarks not being officially recorded; His Majesty seemed to have believed that I had spoken under the bacchanalian influence of a lunch, and should be glad not to hear anything about it. I insisted on their being inserted, however, and this was done. Whilst I was speaking the Crown Prince had raised his hands to heaven, as though he doubted my being in my sober senses; my colleagues were silent."

William persisted in saying: "I have no right to Holstein". "My sympathies", he had said to his brother-in-law in Weimar on the 22nd of November, "are entirely on the side of Holstein and her young Duke, but how can I get out of the treaty? The

amount that we poor monarchs have to contend with, all pouring in at the same time, is hardly conceivable, and fresh sluice-gates are always opening!" On the 1st of December the King cautions Bismarck with regard to the Holstein question: "You ought to read to-day's leading article in the *Spenersche Zeitung* before the sitting, for it seems to me very sensible and calm. In any case I wish you not to say in the course of the debate that for certain reasons an independent Holstein would not be acceptable to you—for that is not my view—and on this account I advise great caution, for the matter is too serious and too important for us to be bound by a single word. I enclose a comment from my son." Bismarck puts the Cabinet question in an embittered frame of mind. On the 4th of December the King asks Bismarck on his own account "whether we and Austria are not justified in now substituting the word 'occupation' for 'execution', subject to the decision as to the succession": "We must occupy a German country, which is in a state of ferment, until a dispute over the succession is settled." After the 7th of December the Saxons and Hanoverians enter Holstein as Federal troops; the Danes cross the Eider.

On the 9th the Prussian Government submits the draft of a Bill to the Chamber of Deputies proposing to raise a loan of twelve million talers. The Committee of the House proposes instead of this an address to the King, in which it demands recognition of Frederick VIII, the Augustenburg Prince, liberation of the German Federal territory, and the independence of the Duchies: "Judging from the tendency of the Ministry, we fear that in its hands the means demanded might not be employed in the interest of the Duchies and of Germany, or to the advantage of the Crown and the country." "Absolutely revolutionary", William writes to Bismarck. But on the 17th of December he says: "I have just read the address. The worst of it is that it wants what I want too in my heart and cannot say plainly to the House, either through you to-morrow or in my answer." He wishes Bismarck to come to see him, the King, for a moment before the sitting.

On the 26th of December William is definitely prepared to support the Augustenburg Prince, the *Primkenauer*, who was

The Crown Prince Frederick William

proclaimed their ruler by 20,000 Holsteiners in the Assembly at Elmshorn the next day. "The London treaty certainly annuls the succession itself, but it does not do away with the right to it, if, as now, it re-arises and is demanded by the whole of Germany. Therefore I think that if Prussia is convinced of this right when it is discussed at Frankfurt a.M. she must speak in favour of it and will consequently have to say (with Austria) that she demands a Conference with a view to modifying the treaty with the contracting Powers; that is to say, Christian IX to remain King of Denmark, but the *Primkenauer* to succeed in the Duchies."

On the 30th Duke Frederick establishes himself at Kiel. William, his well-wisher, is vexed. A New Year letter to his sister Alexandrina, about Chinese vases, influenza and rheumatism, which prevent his going to church at Charlottenburg and Potsdam, and about Schleswig-Holstein: "The question is proper and vital in itself, but the Democratic-revolutionary Party have taken it up and threaten to ruin the whole thing. And now the claimant actually goes to Kiel, whilst the Confederation is to govern the country; this is unpardonable on his part! Just as I was exposed to all the maledictions of Germany and Europe in the Polish question and the reform question at Frankfurt a.M., so I am again now, because I want to see the matter sensibly managed, and will not leave it to be settled by revolution. My opponents made a brilliant failure of the first two questions. We must wait and see how the third will end."

On the 2nd and 3rd of January 1864, fresh Council deliberations with serious opposition between the King and the annexationist Prime Minister, whom William forbids "to make speeches of that kind outside the room where the sittings are held". On the 14th the Federal Parliament rejects the Austro-Prussian proposal that the Confederation should seize Schleswig as security until the illegal Danish joint Constitution is repealed; the request to Duke Frederick to leave Holstein is rejected by nine to seven votes. Austria (irritated by Napoleon's Speech from the Throne) and Bismarck now act alone, and send Denmark an ultimatum of forty-eight hours. That is on the 16th of January. The Crown Prince comes to see his father in the evening. He tells him that

a man called Lucian Samwer has been to see him on behalf of the Augustenburg Prince, with a letter from him to the King, and asks whether the latter would come to his soirée, where he could talk to Samwer in an adjoining room without its being noticed. William declines until he has read the letter. He reads it. The letter is not censorious, "except at the end". William informs Bismarck of what has occurred: "If I did wish to see him incognito at my son's house, I could not give him any hope other than that suggested in the agreement, namely, that after the victory we should see what new bases could be proposed for the future, and advise waiting for the Frankfurt verdict with regard to the succession." Afterwards, however, he accedes to the Crown Prince's request, and he gives an account to the Prime Minister: "I beg to inform you that I decided after all to see Samwer at my son's house, for about six to ten minutes in his presence. I spoke to him absolutely in the sense of the proposed answer, but rather more coldly and very seriously. Above all, I said firmly that the Prince must not on any account invade Schleswig." Samwer's minutes record the King's stipulation that there must not be any talk about the interview. William: "We shall see what attitude England adopts towards my new basis." Victoria, the Crown Princess, the Englishwoman, says that at the most she could only take naval action. The King: "But that would be absolutely fatal." Samwer insists that his most gracious master would immediately be proclaimed everywhere in Schleswig. "You think that the Duke is given them as their King by God. Is Your Majesty going to allow the butt-end of the gun to be used against these people?" The King, shrugging his shoulders: "That will depend on the judgment of the Commander-in-Chief."

On the 21st the terrorist Bismarck writes to the terrorist Roon that the Crown has lost the game against the revolution. "It is practically clear that, even at the risk of breaking with Europe and going through a worse Olmütz, His Majesty will end by giving in to the democracy, in order to install Augustenburg and create a new State of secondary importance. What can one say that is bad enough in that case?" Nothing short of "a miracle" saves the situation. The House of Deputies refuses the loan by two hundred and seventy-five to fifty-one votes. The Diet is

adjourned on the 25th. On the 20th the Prussians and Austrians have begun their advance—the Prussians with 35,000 men and 110 guns, under William's nephew Frederick Charles, the Austrians with 21,300 men and 48 guns, under Field-Marshal Baron Gablenz. The eighty-year-old conqueror of Berlin, Marshal Wrangel, Blücher's copyist, is in supreme command. The Crown Prince is at headquarters. The plan of campaign has been drawn up by General Helmuth von Moltke.

Both Bismarck and Roon are true Prussian *Junkers*, Moltke is the only one who gives the impression of not being quite so exclusively Prussian. The father, a Prussian officer and bankrupt landlord, died a Danish Lieutenant-General. The mother, daughter of a Lübeck merchant, lived for eight children, separated from her husband. The boy was a pupil at the military academy and was given free education at the *Landkadettenkaserne* in Copenhagen, where he was subjected to the harshness of which he complains in a letter to his fiancée: "The long repression in which I grew up inflicted incurable wounds on my character, depressed me, and broke my pride. It was only later on that I began to reconstruct for myself what had been wrecked." At the age of twenty he exchanged from the Danish into the Prussian service, which offered better chances of rapid promotion. He studied at the War School, was rather sickly, economical, serious, and taciturn. At a time when he was head of the General Staff's topographical bureau, William, at that time Prince of Prussia, saw a plan "worked out by a young Moltke", and said: "I wish an eye to be kept on this officer, who is as thin as a lead pencil; he may certainly rise to be something."

There are two historical works to his credit: on the relations between Holland and Belgium and the internal conditions and social position in Poland; also a translation of Gibbon's history of the fall of the Roman Empire, unfinished on account of the publisher's inability to pay for the work. He was also interested in Goethe and French literature, and delighted in Mozart. His youngest sister married Hohn Heyliger Burt, a landed proprietor at Colton, near Lichfield in England, who had come from the West Indies to settle in Schleswig. Writing from Turkey, where he travelled during six months' leave, Moltke says: "On the tenth

morning after leaving Rustchuk, we saw the sun rise behind a distant mountain, at the foot of which a silver streak extended: it was Asia, the cradle of nations; it was snow-covered Olympus and the clear Propontis, on whose deep blue surface a few sails gleamed like swans. Soon afterwards a forest of minarets, masts, and cypresses rose glittering above the sea—it was Constantinople."

He enters the service of the Porte. As "Baron Bey" he writes a pamphlet on the Turkish *Landwehr*, inspects the Dardanelles fortresses and Varna, the water supply of Constantinople and the topography of the Bosphorus, and goes to Smyrna, Bulgaria, and East Rumelia. During the war against Mehmed Ali he has to reconnoitre the roads from Tabriz to Syria. On a starlit night he wanders along the Euphrates through the ruins of the Roman citadel of Rum-Kaleh, and he describes the river glistening far below in a rocky gorge, its swirl the only sound heard in the stillness of the evening. "Cyrus and Alexander, Xenophon, Cæsar, and Julian passed by here in the moonlight; from this very spot they had seen the country of the Chosroes, and seen it exactly as it is now, for Nature is of stone here and does not change. Then I decided to sacrifice to the memory of the great Roman people the golden grapes which they had first brought to the land of the Gauls, and which I had carried from the western to the eastern frontier of their far-flung Empire. I hurled the bottle down from the height above; it plunged into the water, danced and floated along the stream to the Indian Ocean. You are quite right in suspecting that I had first emptied it."

The Prussian officer directs an artillery attack on the castle of a Kurd Prince, and finds a Syrian translation of the New Testament, dated 1591, in a cavern. After that he takes part in the campaign of 1839 and the disastrous battle of Nisib. Has gastric fever in Vienna. Goes to the south of Italy. Marries a girl of sixteen, Mary Burt; the marriage is childless. In 1845 he goes to Rome with his wife as "aide-de-camp" to Frederick William II's abnormal son, Prince Henry, who lives in a gloomy palace near the Corso, and has lain in bed for thirteen years, surrounded by cards, books, drawings, pictures, telescopes, papers, bottles, etc., in a plaid dressing-gown, "with a white, carefully trimmed beard, and hair like that of a hermit in one

of Domenichino's pictures". The "aide-de-camp" has to sit for an hour every day beside the Prince's bed, and tell him the latest news from Berlin, which the Prince already knows. Moltke is absorbed in the Eternal City and the loneliness of the Campagna. The Italian cook informs him that the Prince is dead. Moltke takes the news to Potsdam, and is ordered to bring the body to Cuxhaven in the Prussian cruiser *Amazon*, but he is so terribly seasick that he is obliged to leave the ship at Gibraltar. Travels through Spain and France. Is appointed to the Staff of the VIII Army Corps at Coblenz. The revolution, which Moltke would welcome, in so far as it might give birth to a united Germany, distresses him: "It is no longer a question of monarch or republic, but of law or anarchy; our enemies are not from without, we have them at home—the proletarians are the magic broom Liberalism has conjured up, and which it cannot lay. The most Liberal of deputies will soon be a thorough aristocrat! What a future Germany is throwing away!"

Appointed to the General Staff in Berlin, Moltke sees the National Assembly. The Prussian Elector becomes what he would have been as a Danish Counsellor of State—Conservative. Lucian Samwer wants to secure his services for the Schleswig-Holstein army. He would not hesitate to fight against Denmark in a war, but he does not receive an official offer from the provisional Government. He goes to Magdeburg as Chief of the General Staff of the IV Army Corps. He speaks of the "impudence of the democracy", for he is in favour of order. "Marie is very well, and would storm a barricade if necessary." "Freedom has certainly sometimes resulted from order, but order has never been the result of freedom. It is true that if one goes to sleep again when there is order, it will not last very long either." He is terribly depressed by the Olmütz affair. At the end of 1851 he receives the Prince of Prussia instead of the General in command.

In 1855 he has an audience of Frederick William IV at Sanssouci. "He is very anxious that I should be his nephew's chief aide-de-camp." The Prince of Prussia, young Fritz's father, is against it, is "even very much irritated" at the suggestion. In spite of this Moltke is appointed, Count Dohna having said that his standpoint was not that of the *Kreuzzeitung*. He joins the

young Prince in Scotland. Betrothal of the future heir to the throne to Victoria at Balmoral. "The Princess Royal is rather small, has a round, pleasant face, very pretty sensible eyes." In 1856 London; then, for the coronation of Alexander II, Peterhof, St. Petersburg, Moscow; after that Paris, the Tuileries, Napoleon. "The Prince", Eugénie writes to a friend, "is a tall, handsome man, almost a head taller than the Emperor, slight, fair, with a straw-coloured moustache—a German, as described by Tacitus, chivalrously courteous, not without a trace of Hamlet. His companion, a General Moltke (or some such name), is sparing of his words, and anything but a dreamer; always on the alert and interesting, he surprises one by the most apt remarks."

In 1857 he has an interview with Theodor von Bernhardi in Berlin. The latter writes that he is "reserved, discreet, taciturn, and *boutonné*, as the saying is; this time he talks a good deal, very definitely and apparently very frankly; he has obviously formed opinions and intends to act upon them; he is anxious that I should not think he shares those of Vincke, Saucken, etc." His sympathy for Schleswig-Holstein is based "less on German national feeling than on his leaning to the aristocratic elements there, which are hostile to democratic Denmark, for Schleswig-Holstein is Conservative, the Danish Government revolutionary". As regards the Church question, Moltke's view is that Luther "threw the child out with the bath water", and he hopes for a reunion of the religious denominations within the pale of a reformed Catholicism.

On the 23rd of October 1857 the Prince of Prussia, now acting as the King's deputy, makes over the management of the General Staff of the army to Moltke, and after the Crown Prince's wedding trip, on which Moltke accompanies him, he is officially appointed its Chief; Liegnitz, on the 18th of September 1858. Moltke writes a memorandum on the march of the German army against France, in 1860 on that of the Prussian army in a war against Austria. In 1862 a history of the war against Denmark, 1848–49. In January 1864 the theory is put into practice.

On the 31st of January 1864 Prussia and Austria refuse to postpone the military operations, as proposed by Lord Palmerston

and recommended in Berlin by France, Russia, and Sweden. The most important Danish position is the *Danewerk*, the earthworks protected by marshes between Schleswig and the source of the Rheide; to the east of it the bay of the Schlei, with the fortress of Missunde; to the west the Rheide and Treene. Instead of a frontal attack on the *Danewerk*, Moltke proposes taking it by turning the position on the eastern flank, and favours an advance through Jutland after Prince Frederick Charles has crossed the Schlei, instead of storming the Düppel entrenchments. Wrangel requests the Danish Commander-in-Chief, General de Meza, to evacuate Schleswig; de Meza refuses.

"If we take the *Danewerk*", William writes to Bismarck on the 2nd of February, "and Austria's military honour is thereby associated with that of Prussia, she will no longer be able to dissociate herself from us, and therefore, I think, we can be firmer in our opposition to England, who will speak quite differently after the *fait accompli*. Seeing this, she is trying to tie our hands still more in accordance with her views, which are not ours. In any case I should call a Cabinet meeting again to-morrow to discuss the matter."

A reverse, owing to Wrangel's folly: Prince Frederick Charles tries to storm the Missunde fortifications, and abandons the attempt with a loss of two hundred killed and wounded. Colonel Blumenthal then effects a crossing of the Schlei at Arnis. "The Danish army", he says in a report to Moltke, "is obliging enough to be drawn up in such a manner that we can put it in the worst possible position by an enveloping movement; instead of that we attack it with such vigour at its strongest point, and frighten it so much, that it sounds the retreat in good time. The Danes were wiser in February than we were; our enveloping movement was made two days too late." Nevertheless the Danes evacuate the *Danewerk* on the 5th, as the marshes are frozen, and pass Flensburg. The Copenhagen Government sacrifice de Meza; General von Lüttichau is appointed Commander-in-Chief. The Danes seize all the German ships in their harbours and blockade Holstein and Schleswig. The Prussians occupy Altona, Rendsburg, Neumünster, and Kiel, as "important line of communication points", regardless of the Saxon General's protest.

The secondary States are indignant. Troops of the Schleswig Army Corps are assembled on the frontier of Saxony.

William sends Manteuffel in the rôle of conciliator to King John of Saxony and the blind King of Hanover. From Hanover Manteuffel goes to Vienna. On the 17th of February the allies have reached the frontier of Jutland. Wrangel must be forbidden to cross it, as Francis Joseph is against this. William entrusts the Chief of his military Cabinet with an autograph letter to the Emperor, who does not wish to make enemies of England and Napoleon. "Our policy", it says, "would be a failure if we did not bring it to a satisfactory conclusion. I attach great value to England's friendship, but I think that neither England nor any other Power will consider it in her interest to attack us so long as we remain united. Even if the danger were nearer, however, than I believe it to be, there are yet circumstances under which I should not think it possible to be deterred by it, and therefore, in my opinion, nothing is more likely to conduce to it than an attitude which would betray fear of it." The instructions for Manteuffel are as follows: the armies in Jutland to advance, as reprisals for the seizure of ships and the blockade; decision of the question of power in Germany between the secondary States and the two great Powers.

On the 1st of March the understanding in Vienna is perfect. On the 10th King Max of Bavaria, who had supported the Federal policy in opposition to Prussia and Austria, dies in Munich of erysipelas and blood-poisoning, and is succeeded by his son, the visionary, who is barely of age, as Ludwig II. On the 20th the German invasion extends to the greater part of south Jutland. Napoleon, the *plébiscite* man, says that the best thing would be to refer to the inhabitants of Schleswig-Holstein. On the 6th of April the Prussians bombard Sonderburg, which still contains a civilian population. Bismarck parries a diplomatic protest, which is proposed by England. Napoleon has suggested to Prussia the incorporation of the Duchies, with the slight reserve to which he is partial, and with dark hints of concessions to him which would not take the form of Rhine "frontier rectifications". "I repeat", the King writes to Bismarck, "that this plan would combine everyone against us, for it drives the secondary

German States into the Austrian camp, because they will see their nightmare realized for the first time for fifty years in this annexation policy, and will therefore expect to be the victims of it. Consequently Austria, Germany, England, and Russia must necessarily be against us, and we should stand alone with no ally but the arch-enemy and its inscrutable leader."

Then, on the 18th of April, the great *coup*, the storming of Düppel. William wished it; he thinks it necessary to show the world that the Prussian troops are still capable of storming fortresses; he has had enough of slack warfare. The black and white flags float on the works instead of the Danish flag. On the Prussian side 1,100, on the Danish an equal number of killed and wounded, with the additional loss of 3,600 prisoners, 118 guns, and 4,000 rifles. The Danish General Gerlach, Lüttichau's successor, goes to the island of Alsen with the rest of his forces. The news of the victory is telegraphed to William in Berlin, just after he had reviewed a few regiments of Guards. He is harsh and stern until it arrives. In the evening he falls asleep in his small box at the opera. Salvoes in the Lustgarten. Crowds of people. He slips into his palace on foot, and then has to appear on the balcony. He leaves immediately for Schleswig, and reviews the troops that stormed Düppel on the 21st at Gravenstein. Speeches to the officers and men. Moltke is personally appointed Chief of the Headquarters Staff.

On the 25th of April, opening of the London Conference arranged by England. The delegates are: for England, Lord John Russell himself, the Foreign Minister, and Lord Clarendon; for Sweden, Count Wachtmeister; for Russia, old Baron Brunnow; for France, Prince Latour d'Auvergne; for Austria, Count Apponyi and Herr von Biegeleben; for Prussia, Count Bernstorff and the former Minister in Copenhagen, von Balan; for the German Confederation, Beust, the Saxon; for Denmark, the Minister Quaade. The neutral Powers wish for an armistice. At the second sitting this is fixed for a month from the 12th of May. As soon as it begins, Wrangel is recalled from the theatre of war, "in consideration of his great age", is raised to the rank of a Count, and Prince Frederick Charles becomes Commander-in-Chief.

Beust holds a manifesto demanding the freedom of Schleswig-Holstein, signed by 1,350 German representatives of the people, 183 of them Prussians, against whose wishes nothing must be done. The Greater German Reform Society and the 40,000 "to the last drop" men sitting in council at Rendsburg, pronounce in favour of the Augustenburg Prince. But an address is also being circulated in Prussia, which Count Arnim-Boitzenburg presents to the King, with nearly 30,000 signatures, requesting the complete separation of Schleswig-Holstein from Denmark, either as an independent State under Prussia's protection, or as part of the Prussian State itself. On the 23rd of May William speaks of a "fitting reward" for the "precious blood" of so many Prussians, and deals indirectly with the annexation question. "The Allied Powers have fought on the battlefield for this object, namely, effective and permanent guarantees against further disturbances of the peace on the northern frontier of Germany, and we are now endeavouring to achieve it at the Conference, with the perfect freedom of decision to which Denmark's behaviour and recent events entitle us. Whilst the negotiations are going on you will not expect any statement from me as to the kind of solution we contemplate, but just as you can have no doubt that I shall safeguard Prussia's honour in any circumstances, so you will share my confidence that the sacrifices we have made for the German cause will not have been made in vain in the interests of our native country."

On the 17th of May Bernstorff said at the Conference that they must ascertain who was legally entitled to the sovereignty of the Duchies. On the 28th, acting in accordance with Bismarck's Machiavellian instructions, he supports the Augustenburg Prince's candidature, "as the latter not only has most legal claim to the succession in the eyes of Germany, so that his recognition by the Federal Parliament is assured, but there is no doubt that the great majority of the inhabitants of the Duchies are also on his side". Not a word as to how the propaganda in his favour is regarded in Prussia itself. According to Bernstorff, Apenrade–Tondern is to be the frontier, not the Schlei and the *Danewerk*, as proposed by England, in order to avoid separating the Danish and mixed nationality districts in Schleswig from Denmark.

That coincides with William's letter of the 27th to Bismarck: "We did not decide yesterday what instructions should be given to Bernstorff with regard to the Hereditary Prince of Augustenburg. It seems to me that we must frankly nominate him, in order not to be left behind by Austria and the others. Secondly, the question of the frontier between North and South Schleswig must be considered. Properly speaking, we ought to go as far as Königsau, but if partition really must be proposed and accepted, Prussia, mindful of her victory, must firmly demand the line Apenrade–Tondern, so that we could not, at the most, be beaten down to anything short of the Flensburg–Tondern line."

On the 29th of May William is still rejoicing over Düppel. "This feat of arms", he writes, "is perhaps one of the rarest in the history of war, for when have three successive fortifications been taken by storm without a check of any kind?" Recalling the campaign in Baden against the German revolutionary forces, he says: "It is impossible to describe my feeling when I thanked my brave troops in person, and saw from their faces that they felt and were glad to know that they had done their duty! It was one that can probably only be experienced once in a lifetime, although I had already experienced it in Baden!"

On the 1st of June the Augustenburg Prince has an interview late in the evening with Bismarck, who succeeds in doing him out of all his chances with William and the Crown Prince. Frederick William had thought that the Duke would be prepared to conclude a naval and military agreement with Prussia and to transfer Kiel to her as a naval port. Bismarck: "Prussia's zeal for the Prince's cause might possibly depend on how far His Highness is willing to oblige her." The Prince: "As to that I have no anxiety; matters have gone too far now for there to be any going back." On taking leave: "We shall meet again, I hope." They only meet again the day after the battle of Sedan, the Prince in the uniform of a Bavarian General. Frederick William tries in vain to induce him to be more accommodating. Bismarck, triumphant over the Hohenzollerns, father and son, to Bernstorff: "After exhaustive discussion with the Hereditary Prince, it seems to me desirable in the interest of Prussia not to continue to further his candidature now, and if protests are made against

this, to say that the dynastic considerations are not of most importance to us."

On the 6th of June the armistice is extended to the 26th. On the 9th, the Tsar, who is on his way to Kissingen, is in Berlin with Gortchakoff. The Tsar speaks of his candidate, the Grand Duke of Oldenburg, and Bismarck is friendly, but he feels that Russia would not consider the annexation a *casus belli*. He spends four weeks at Carlsbad, where he takes the waters with William. Francis Joseph and Rechberg are also there. Bismarck obliges the latter to go on with the war by threatening that Prussia will carry it on without Austria. On the 25th the London Conference ends, having failed to achieve any result. During the night of the 28th to 29th the Alsen is crossed in boats; the defeated Danes retreat to the island of Fünen. "That was again a divine dispensation", William writes to his sister Alexandrina. To his brother-in-law, Charles Alexander: "The world has now had ample opportunity of seeing that we have done something more in the fifty years of peace than drill, a libel that I put up with very calmly, because I knew better than anyone else what we were doing and how we were doing it. But it was precisely our Prussian method of drill and training, introduced by my lamented father fifty-six years ago (1808), that prepared us for 1813 and 1848–49." At the same time he is cautious: "But we will guard against being intoxicated by our victory, for there may and always will be reverses."

On the 14th of July North Jutland is conquered. Vogel von Falckenstein and the Prussian Prince Albert reach the Skagerak with their Staff. On the 20th Bismarck writes to Joanna: "The King has just left for Marienbad; beautiful ladies drawn up in double line with gigantic bouquets, which filled his carriage to overflowing; Hurrah! hurrah! emotion! Well, I have a little breathing-space now; all my acquaintances have gone with him. To-morrow morning I go to Vienna; we stay the night at Prague. Perhaps we shall have peace with the Danes in a week's time, perhaps war again in the winter! I shall make my stay in Vienna as short as possible, so as not to miss too many baths at Gastein. After that I shall probably go to Vienna again with His Majesty, and then to Baden." On the 30th of July a fresh armistice.

On the 1st of August, preliminaries in Vienna with Quaade: the King of Denmark renounces all right to Schleswig-Holstein in favour of the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia.

Bismarck joins William at Gastein. On the 22nd of August he and the King and Rechberg are with Francis Joseph at Schönbrunn. Rechberg, who is in favour of setting up a Commission for the joint Government of the Duchies, in which there would be a representative of the Confederation in addition to the Austrian and Prussian Commissioners, intimates that Prussia could compensate the Habsburg monarchy for the annexation by transferring the county of Glatz to Austria. William refuses this. Francis Joseph asks whether his ally is determined to make the Duchies Prussian provinces, or whether he would be satisfied with certain rights over them. William is silent. Bismarck breaks the silence by replying to Francis Joseph: "I wish very much that Your Majesty would put that question to me in my most gracious master's presence; I hope on this occasion to learn his views." William, taken by surprise and confused by his Minister's concealed scorn, says that he really has no rights over the Duchies, and therefore cannot claim them. "This statement", Bismarck relates, "from which I saw that he had been influenced by the Royal Family and Liberals about the Court, naturally put me out of action as regards the Emperor. After that I spoke in favour of firmly adhering to unity between the two great German Powers, and Rechberg and I outlined a short scheme in conformity with this view, which was approved by both the monarchs, leaving the future of Schleswig-Holstein undecided."

William leaves, via Salzburg, and reaches Baden-Baden on the 1st of September. There he again meets Bismarck, who goes to Biarritz in October and to see Napoleon in Paris. The King arrives at Sanssouci on the 15th of October for the commemoration service held on the late King's birthday. While still at Baden-Baden he is concerned about a Ministerial crisis in Vienna: Rechberg had not succeeded in obtaining an assurance from Bismarck at Schönbrunn that Austria would be admitted to the Zollverein later on, and it is said that he will be overthrown by Schmerling (who objects to Bismarck's dictatorship and his dislike to Liberalism).

The King, whom Bismarck is trying to influence through Roon, but who does not attend to him on this occasion, writes to Abeken, the councillor of Legation: "We might perhaps avert the Ministerial crisis in Vienna, but by doing so we should bring one about in Berlin; Bodelschwingh and Delbrück would probably resign if we agreed to Article 25." The Emperor sends the Archduke Leopold to Berlin. William has a talk with him on the 22nd. "The King pointed out that Schmerling had started the most active campaign against the alliance in his Press organs, and against Rechberg as its supporter. Rechberg was consequently driven to uphold the demand for customs union, which everyone knew was impossible. If Schmerling were to gain the upper hand, all the conditions of the last few years would be revived: the opposition of the secondary States, the competition between Austria and Prussia for their favour, and the satisfaction such a spectacle of internal weakness and decay would give other countries."

On the 27th Rechberg falls, and the Vienna peace with Denmark is signed. Count Mensdorff-Pouilly, who was the Federal Commissioner in Holstein from 1850 to 1852, becomes Foreign Minister. William thanks Francis Joseph: "I have long appreciated, respected, and trusted Count Mensdorff, and am therefore fully persuaded that he is both able and determined to carry out your latest policy towards Prussia."

The war with Denmark is over, but the struggle between Crown and people in Prussia goes on, whilst the new great fight for Germany becomes more and more intense, owing to Bismarck's aims, much as he may now wish to gain time. Count Mensdorff has been commissioned by Francis Joseph to lose no time in winding up the unpleasant Holstein business. In the first of three dispatches sent to Berlin on the 13th of November he speaks in flattering language of the affection and respect felt by the Emperor for his "Royal Prussian ally", whose reputation for uprightness, Conservative feeling, and devotion to the German cause he shared, and goes on to say: "The Emperor therefore has implicit confidence that the King will be able to practise the virtue of renunciation, and sacrifice his personal wishes as

far as may be necessary in the interest of the more important consideration, the maintenance and consolidation of the Austro-Prussian alliance." . . . "He counts on the King's sound judgment and wise self-restraint." The establishment of a semi-sovereign State is impossible; Schleswig-Holstein must be set up as an independent Federal State, and the best thing would be to put the Hereditary Prince of Augustenburg on the throne.

Will the Hohenzollerner respond to this kind of talk? A mistaken calculation, for Count Karolyi is to explain verbally that Austria will agree to the annexation of the Duchies by Prussia if Prussia will provide her with territory elsewhere in return. Bismarck does not give in on any point. He demands the withdrawal of the Saxon and Hanoverian troops. Beust, resenting General Hake having been driven out of Rendsburg, refuses: Might against might. The King, in common with Bismarck, is in favour of a very severe lesson, and Prussian troops march against Saxony from Torgau. Roon writes to Bismarck: "In the present situation, and as the matter must be decided at once, please send me an immediate answer as to whether the 37th Regiment, which is going to the Grand Duchy of Posen from Mainz, is to take the shorter and cheaper route via Dresden, and frighten Herr von Beust, or not?" Austria mediates. On the 5th of December the Federal Parliament adopts the Prusso-Austrian proposal that the Federal troops shall be withdrawn from Schleswig-Holstein, by a majority of nine. Bavaria, all the Saxons, Würtemberg, Darmstadt, and Brunswick vote against it. In the midst of all the festivities, dinners, etc., in connection with the second entry of his victorious troops, William cannot find time until the 21st of December to answer a letter from his brother-in-law, to whom Bismarck has made it clear through the Prussian Minister that Weimar's vote would not be forgotten. "I know very well", William writes, "that the excuse made for the last fifty years for this opposition has been that Prussia intends to absorb her neighbours. When have my father, my brother, or I ever given any proof of such an intention? This, however, is Knight Ruprecht's wand, which is always waved in Germany when Prussia is to be run down. Instead of recognizing Prussia as the shield and the Power that will protect and defend

Germany, efforts are continually made to quarrel with her, and then it is a surprise when she does not take it lying down. It is with such behaviour that I implore you not to associate yourself." There must never be a disagreement between them "which would be inconsistent both with our relationship and our friendship". But after Christmas Bismarck thanks his master for a stick he has given him, with the wish "that Your Majesty's stick may flourish in the German land like the rod of Aaron, according to the 17th chapter of the fourth book of Moses, and that in case of need it may also be changed into the serpent that swallows up the other rods, as recorded in the 7th chapter of the second book".

On the 14th of December William commands the Minister of Justice to procure an opinion from the Crown lawyers on the claims of the Pretender to the Holstein throne. The jurists will take six months to reach this decision, which will be that the Augustenberg Prince's title to succeed is null and void. On the 14th of January 1865, the Diet reassembles. The Speech from the Throne says: "The peace concluded with Denmark restores her disputed northern borderlands to Germany and gives them the possibility of active participation in our national life. It will be the aim of my policy to safeguard this acquisition by arrangements which will make it easy for us to fulfil our obligation of honour to protect those frontiers. Whilst defending these legitimate requirements, I shall endeavour to reconcile the fulfilment of them as much with any lawful claims of the country as with those of the Princes." Then as regards the domestic conflict: "It is my earnest wish that the differences there have been during the last few years between my Government and the Chamber of Deputies should be adjusted. The momentous events that have recently occurred will have helped to show the need of an improvement in the organization of the army, which has stood the test of a war. I am resolved to continue to respect and safeguard the rights conceded to the representative assembly by the Constitution, but if Prussia is to retain her independence and the ascendancy amongst the European States which is her due, she must have a resolute and strong Government."

As early as in January, William writes another "memorandum on the reorganization of the army", in order to refute the argu-

ments adduced by the Left Party in the Diet, even after this war, by a "very detailed and strongly emphasized analysis"; for the Left says that the soldiers who had served one and two years fought just as bravely as the older troops, the officers of the *Landwehr* as well as those of the Line. On the 26th, in replying to an address deputation from the *Herrenhaus*, he pays a tribute to the fear of God: "The fear of God was a living force in the army; it was responsible for the warm and eager sympathy shown by the people for the fighting troops, and their readiness to make personal sacrifices."

On the 8th of February, Bismarck to Karolyi, mainly with reference to Bavaria: "We should have our whole nation in arms behind us." On the 14th the Prussian postulates, which would turn Schleswig-Holstein into a Prussian vassal State, both from the economic and military standpoint. Mensdorff: "Unacceptable." On the 27th, Bismarck has a talk with Napoleon's Minister in Berlin, Count Benedetti, who had hitherto been in Turin. On the 27th Moltke gives a professional opinion on the strength of the Austrian army in a war with Prussia. Edwin von Manteuffel writes to Roon in March that the King still really contemplates commanding the army in a war, and is accustomed to the idea of Moltke as Chief of the Staff in that case. William also writes to Roon: "Unacceptable", and indeed "any arrangement" with the deputies which falls at all short of the proposed army estimates. Bavaria and Saxony propose the Augustenburg Prince; Austria knows of it. Bismarck to Karolyi: "Our railway tickets are for different lines, and we cannot travel this time in the compartment which you already share with others." Order from the King to transfer the Prussian naval station from Dantzig to Kiel. The Austrian Civil Commissioner, Herr von Halbhuber, must obstruct the preliminary arrangements, which he does not succeed in doing.

On the 27th of March William thanks Charles Alexander for his birthday letter: "That everything depends on the will of God was my father's motto, and it is also mine, therefore I value what you say as to that very much, and as I always add, 'Lord, Thy will be done', one can go boldly through the world with these articles of faith, if at the same time one preserves a clear con-

science." His brother-in-law had written to him that he, the Grand Duke, had seen from what he said in Berlin and at Dessau this winter about Schleswig-Holstein, how "unselfish and therefore truly noble" William's intentions were. Now there is also the Oldenburg Pretender, and even Brandenburg hereditary rights can be unearthed if there is a majority in favour of the Bavarian motion. "You say that we should begin so cleverly that the Duchies would end by giving themselves up to us of their own accord. What cleverness would that have been other than of having made Prussian rule so pleasant to them that they wish to keep it? Where is the misfortune in that? It would be difficult to pay our administration a greater compliment. Movements of that kind are indeed already becoming evident, but Halbhuber thoroughly understands how to prevent their achieving their object. *Enfin qui vivra verra.*"

On the 6th of April the vote is taken on the motion by the secondary States: the Confederation confidently expects that Austria and Prussia will now hand over the administration of Schleswig-Holstein to the Prince of Augustenburg, and at the same time announce their decisions with regard to Lauenburg, the third and smallest of the territories ceded by Denmark. Nine votes for and six against the motion; amongst the nine Austria, who then states that Prussia ought to take the first step, and thus shirks the practical result. The Crown Prince is still privately trying to induce the Prince of Augustenburg to agree to the terms of a military convention. His father writes coldly to Frederick William that he must first talk over the latter's reply to a letter addressed to him by the Hereditary Prince with Bismarck. The King to Roon about the dispute with the Vienna Government: "Bismarck read me the Austrian Note yesterday respecting an adjustment of the Kiel question by reducing our troops. I cannot agree to that, as every concession to Austria is requited by fresh ingratitude and pretensions." And again the struggle over the Prussian army estimates, over the quota of recruits, the object of the Progressives being only to curtail the "Royal power" by this means. "If this is permitted", William writes to the Minister of War on the 3rd of May, at ten o'clock at night, "all is lost. The whole demand is nothing but want of confidence

in me personally, and I can only fittingly set my face against this by consistently adhering to my attitude. All the talk to-day was about the impression on the people in view of the next elections; unfortunately I forgot to ask what impression will be made on the army? The answer is very simple: the most disheartening impression possible! And am I to make this impression on the army just as it comes victoriously out of a war?" Bismarck's advice is to say as little as possible during the general discussion, and make no sign, so as finally to be able to reject any quota fixed.

The battles in the Prussian Chamber become as violent as ever. The proposal with regard to the Kiel naval port is rejected in Committee. The plenum also negatives it, after Bismarck's attempt to intimidate Virchow with the pistol, like a haughty aristocrat. The less extreme Liberals alone begin to reconcile themselves to a close union of the Duchies with Prussia. In the midst of this discussion Bismarck says "that the person who conducts the foreign policy of the Prussian State is His Majesty the King, both constitutionally and in fact". Sensation. "The fact remains", Bismarck repeats, "that the Kings of Prussia carry on their policy in accordance with their own wishes, and I am very glad that it is so." Bravo! from the Conservatives. But the mayor of the palace fully realizes what tremendous energy is still needed to overcome the monarch's opposition to what is impending.

THE WAR WITH AUSTRIA

ON THE 7TH OF MAY 1865 Bismarck urges upon Mensdorff the necessity of setting aside the Prince of Augustenburg, who is residing at Kiel as Duke Frederick III. As Austria hesitates, and the fresh tension fills the King with anxiety, he thinks of again sending General von Manteuffel to Francis Joseph. The object would be to ascertain whether the alliance with Prussia is still valued or whether a rupture is likely. But before doing so William summons a Cabinet meeting. Besides himself, the Crown Prince and Moltke are present. After the reading of the minutes the King opens the proceedings by remarking that "the Danish War, it is true, had been regarded from the first as not merely a Prussian but a national affair; on the other hand, Austria had never been left in doubt that Prussia would demand compensation for her sacrifices". The question was between annexation and the February programme. Bismarck advises annexation, although it may lead to war with Austria. But sooner or later it is probably unavoidable. To be on the safe side he says: "But we cannot advise Your Majesty to embark on a great war with Austria; the decision must depend entirely upon the King's personal and unfettered opinion. Should it be in favour of war, the whole Prussian people will gladly act upon it." The Finance Minister, von Bodelschwingh, speaks in favour of an understanding; even Roon prefers the February programme. The Minister of Education, von Mühler, lectures on how once upon a time the protectorate involved the Athenians in the Peloponnesian War; incorporation would be better. Count Lippe, the Minister of Justice, refers to the opinion of the legal experts. Selchow, the Minister of Agriculture, is in favour of annexation, so is Count Frederick Eulenburg, but not at once. The Crown Prince utters a warning against a war with Austria that would play havoc with Germany and involve the intervention of foreigners; the Hereditary Prince of Augustenburg was absolutely Prussian in his sympathies. Eulenburg speaks a second time against this, and after him Bismarck: an Austrian war was not to be regarded as fratricidal war; Austria had always aspired to an alliance with France, and would enter into it the moment

Napoleon consented to it. The King says undecidedly: "We should have conquered the Duchies even without Austria, but the alliance with her saved us from a European war." To Moltke, who is silent: "What is the opinion of the army?" Moltke: "My personal opinion is that annexation is the only desirable solution for Prussia and for Schleswig-Holstein. The gain is so great that it is worth a war. Just claims made by Austria must be satisfied; if that does not succeed, we must be resolved to go to war. As far as I know, the opinion of the army favours annexation." Prussia would also have the numerical superiority if the *Landwehr* troops, otherwise destined for the fortresses which are not threatened now, were put into the field. The King still does not vote. The Council meeting is over. Bismarck to his brother Bernhard about his "secret contempt for the Chamber" and the "rotten" relations with Austria: "Rupture not impossible." Manteuffel is not sent to Vienna.

On the 21st of June William goes to Carlsbad with Bismarck. As Austria does not go beyond suggesting the Prince of Augustenburg's voluntary departure, he has written privately to the Hereditary Prince asking him to diminish the difficulties of the position in this way. The Hereditary Prince does not act on his advice, and yet he is a Prussian officer and, as a landowner in Silesia, a subject of the King he offends. William complains of the Prince to his sister Amelia at Carlsbad, and on the 30th of June he writes to Francis Joseph: "I cannot put up with the injury to my dignity as Sovereign and head of the army much longer, and I appeal to your friendship and your own feelings." He asks the Emperor to help him to find a remedy. But Bismarck is already saying at Carlsbad to the French ambassador in Vienna, the Duc de Grammont, that "he is not afraid of war with Austria; on the contrary, he wishes for it; Prussia will acquire the Duchies and hegemony in Germany by friendly arrangement or by force".

On the 6th of June, the Prince of Augustenburg's birthday. Demonstrations in his favour allowed by Halbhuber, suppressed by the Prussian Government; flags, banquets, homage. On the 7th Bismarck asks the Inspector-General of Artillery whether the artillery is on such a footing that they can risk a break with Austria in the near future. Question to Roon: "Austria is said to

be in a position to assemble 180,000 troops on our frontiers; can we do the same?" On the 20th of July William writes to his sister Alexandrina, who is to pay him a visit at Carlsbad, that her apartment will be small but quite nice for the one night to which her stay is unfortunately limited. He speaks of the storms there have been, and warns her that he must leave her on Sunday between eleven and twelve, as it will be his last Sunday, and he must go to church, not having done so the day before on account of his bath, or the week before that, when he had been too tired to go.

On the 11th of July the messenger from Vienna at last arrives, with Francis Joseph's reply to William's letter. The Emperor, who is more than ever in favour of the Augustenburg Prince, speaks on behalf of his sovereignty, and Mensdorff's dispatches are so unsatisfactory to Bismarck that he allows Roon to send notices to the newspapers about guns being transported from the Rhineland to the Schleswig fortresses. The King goes to Gastein. On his way there he holds a Cabinet Council at Regensburg. Against his vote, the Cabinet decide to send an ultimatum to Vienna, threatening independent Prussian action in Holstein. General Herwarth von Bittenfeld, who commanded the I Army Corps in the Danish war, and is now in command of the garrison troops, is to arrest "demagogues". He arrests the editor May; the Prussian deputy Freese is banished from the Duchies. A plan is made to arrest the Hereditary Prince himself; the cruiser *Vineta* would then go from Kiel to Pillau, in East Prussia, with him on board. That would be the first step towards mobilization. The ultimatum states that further decisions are dependent on a meeting between the Sovereigns at Gastein, as proposed by Mensdorff. The King, Bismarck, and Manteuffel stop at Salzburg, where William receives Pforten, the Bavarian Prime Minister, after the latter has interviewed Bismarck.

Dreadful rainy and foggy weather at Gastein. On the 25th the King's literary factotum, Louis Schneider, comes to see him there, and asks inquisitively: "Is it really true that Your Majesty has never yet discussed political matters with General von Manteuffel? All the world believes you do, but he himself and his wife once told me that Your Majesty only discussed

political matters with Herr von Bismarck, and military matters with him." The King: "That is perfectly true, except in cases where I have employed Manteuffel on political missions. Neither of the men whose advice is now of most value to me will be able to say that I have discussed matters with them which were not directly within their province, and for which they could not be held responsible to me later on. I never discuss military matters with Bismarck or political matters with Manteuffel."

On the 30th of July Count Blome, the Austrian Minister in Munich, a Holsteiner by birth, has an audience of the King. Schmerling's Cabinet has resigned in Vienna. Mensdorff is still Foreign Minister, but Count Belcredi, hitherto Governor of Bohemia, an enemy of Liberal German patriotism, is Prime Minister. Austria and Hungary are weakened by crises. Count Moritz Esterhazy supports Blome's idea of dividing the administration of the Duchies so that Holstein should fall to Austria and Schleswig to Prussia. Blome is commissioned to negotiate this at Gastein. The King is obdurate. He recalls the Seven Years' War. Order must first be established. Bismarck temporizes, but he promises Blome, who is going to see Francis Joseph at Ischl in the meantime, that not a word shall be said about it. "There will probably be a meeting with the Emperor at Salzburg on the King's way home", he informs his friend Blanckenburg; "until then I must steer a middle course, for we cannot make ourselves disagreeable from here."

But on the 1st of August, the date of this letter, Bismarck ventures to make an extraordinary attack on the Queen. William has told him that he has informed his wife, who is at Coblenz, of Blome's proposal. Bismarck writes to him with tyrannical courtesy: "Your Majesty will graciously pardon me if my possible over-anxiety to serve Your Most Gracious Majesty's interests induces me to refer to the information Your Majesty has been good enough to give me. The idea of dividing even the administration alone of the Duchies would rouse a storm in diplomatic circles and the Press, if it became known in the Augustenburg camp, because it would be regarded as the first step towards a definite partition, and no doubt would be felt as to the parts of the country to be administered by Prussia being lost to the Prince of Augusten-

burg. Like Your Majesty, I think that Her Majesty the Queen will keep the information secret, but if a hint were to reach Queen Victoria, or the Crown Prince and Princess at Weimar or Baden, from Coblenz, relying on the family connection, the mere fact of our not having kept the secret, which, at his request, I promised Count Blome should be done, might rouse the Emperor Francis Joseph's distrust and wreck the negotiations." It was perhaps foolish, but he respectfully suggested that the King's messenger should be recalled by telegram from Salzburg. William, horrified, writes on the margin with a cross "Agreed", and excuses himself: "I referred to the matter because no further reference had been made to it within the last twenty-four hours, and I thought that it had been quite dropped out of the programme, the question of actual separation and taking possession having superseded it. By telling the Queen of it, I wanted to prepare her for the transition at some future time to taking possession, which would be the gradual result of divided administration. I can explain this equally well, however, later on, if the partition of property really takes place, which I still do not believe will be the case, for Austria would have to climb down too much, having gone too far in supporting Augustenburg and opposing taking possession, although, indeed, she only opposed unilateral action in that respect." The King has realized that the man is his superior in strength.

Francis Joseph decides in favour of provisional divided administration under a common sovereignty—in favour of peace. Blome returns to Gastein on the 8th of August with a letter from the Emperor which points out "what a misfortune it would be and what a scandal, if we two, the son of Frederick William III and grandson of the Emperor Francis, suddenly became enemies from having been friends and allies". Agreement is reached; the tension is relaxed. Manteuffel is appointed Prussian Governor of Schleswig, Gablenz Austrian Governor of Holstein. Halbhuber and his régime disappear. Lauenburg is to be relinquished to Prussia altogether, in return for payment of two and a half million talers. William visits the Emperor and also the Empress Elizabeth at Salzburg. "Thank God, that was at least a bloodless victory." This is how he expresses his relief to Louis Schneider.

The Emperor William and his Sister Alexandrina

Bismarck, who is not exactly jubilant, he creates a Count. "Together with your descendants", he writes to him on the 15th of September, the day of the official incorporation of Lauenburg, and: "In the four years since I appointed you head of the Government, Prussia has taken a position which is worthy of her history and promises her a further happy and glorious future." He goes to Lauenburg with Bismarck to receive the oath of fealty. On the way there he says to the provincial representative assembly at Merseburg: "I and the country owe this man a great deal." He makes a speech at Buchen, on the Lauenburg frontier, and on the 26th, after the religious ceremony in the *Petrikirche*, Bismarck reads out the solemn mediæval oath of loyalty to "the most gracious and powerful Prince and lord, William, King of Prussia and Duke of Lauenburg, your most gracious Duke as well as your legal ruler and Hereditary Duke".

The King's view of Gastein is very much what Manteuffel reports: they must see in three months' time whether Austria's intentions towards Prussia are honest; if not, war and "the conclusion of otherwise unpleasant alliances". But Bismarck is disappointed by Napoleon, who is very much put out at the reconciliation between the contracting parties. He says to Goltz in the park at Fontainebleau: "Write to Count Bismarck that I should have observed benevolent neutrality in a war between Prussia and Austria, but that I am surprised—very much surprised—at what has occurred." He is also put out at having advised the King to adopt a Liberal programme, which will rally "all the Liberal elements in Germany round him without war"; the wretched Parliamentary squabbles and the painful question of the Duchies would then be forgotten. Drouyn de Lhuys, Napoleon's Minister since 1862 (and from 1852 to 1855), is spiteful enough to pick holes in the Gastein agreement in a circular for the French Ministers, which becomes known in Dresden and Hanover, and is so bulky that at first Bismarck thinks it must be a forgery. In spite of this, Goltz is invited to Biarritz by Napoleon. Things being as they are, Bismarck decides, with his Royal master's approval, to go to the Pyrenean watering-place himself. Before going, he tries to get Austria to take steps against the Senate of the free city of Frankfurt a.M., where the

German Constituent Assembly has expressed sympathy with the violated right of succession.

The King of Prussia again incurs the disapproval of even his Weimar brother-in-law, and he also hears of it through Augusta and Charles Alexander's sister Marie. He expounds his views on democracy and the throne, and on Prussia's services to the German secondary States, in a letter of October 28th to the Grand Duke. Had not his brother saved them all from being mediatized by rejecting the "paper Imperial crown"? Had not he, William, equally saved them by his absence from the Frankfurt Congress of Princes, when they were already caught in the net of mediatization? "What are Prussia and Austria now asking of Frankfurt a.M.? That it should put an end to the revolutionary meetings that have been permitted for some years past within its walls, the seat of the Federal Parliament, whose ridiculous resolutions would probably bring about the ruin, certainly not the union, of Germany, if they were carried out—resolutions mainly directed, since Gastein, against the two Great Powers, as though defaming them were a gain to the remaining States, which in reality could do nothing without the two Powers." Gymnasiums and Boys' Brigades and "secret Rifle Associations" are, as Charles Alexander's uncle Bernhard aptly remarked, "the teaching institution of revolution". That he should wish to turn Prussia's strength to account "for the good of you all, you regard as hostility, and consider me an ogre!!!?—?——" He concludes the letter by saying: "You will accuse me of scenting out revolution, as was scornfully said of me before 1848, but unfortunately my olfactory nerves proved very sharp and correct at that time, and I am afraid that I must not doubt their being right now. For how can the revolutionary preparations before 1848 be compared with the present, quite open preparations? At that time a revolution in Germany was considered impossible, and now? So act in combination with us in the Confederation!" But the Grand Duke does not retract his criticism; up-to-date institutions are just what would cut the ground from under the subversive tendencies.

At the beginning of November Bismarck is with Napoleon at St. Cloud, on the 7th back in Berlin. On the 18th, the motion

brought forward by Bavaria, Saxony, and Hesse-Darmstadt, in favour of summoning the Diet in Schleswig-Holstein, and admission of the latter to the Confederation, is finally rejected. On the 15th the Diet reassembles. The Deputies declare the Lauenburg transaction illegal without the constitutional consent of both Houses. "The three months are over", Manteuffel writes on the 18th to Bismarck, who now definitely requests Austria to order the expulsion of the Hereditary Prince and the suppression of Press freedom in Holstein. But a popular meeting in Altona, which was prohibited by the police and afterwards permitted by the Austrian Civil Commissioner, Hofmann, breaks up amidst loud cheers for the "beloved Duke Frederick". That increases William's anger. He cannot put up with this aggressive defiance of his monarchical authority, he says at a Cabinet meeting. Bismarck makes an inquiry in Vienna. Mensdorff's reply to Freiherr von Werther is that he is not accountable to the Prussian Minister for what was done by the Holstein administration. Bismarck informs Karolyi in very plain terms that the alliance is at an end.

The session of the Prussian Diet is closed on the 22nd, again without a budget. On the 28th a Council is held in Berlin, over which the King presides. The Crown Prince, Goltz, and Generals Manteuffel, Moltke, and Alvensleben are present. Bismarck says that it would be more to their advantage to go to war under the present favourable conditions than to leave Austria to choose the moment that would suit her. The Crown Prince and the Minister of Finance are the only ones who speak against it. In opening the proceedings William remarked that Austria held Prussia down. Prussia was not provoking war, but she must go forward on her path. Afterwards, weighing and summing up the position, he said that possession of the Duchies was worth a war, but they must not be too hasty, for a peaceable attainment of the object was more desirable. They must first try to improve the chances by diplomatic means. "He wished for peace, but was resolved, if it must be so, to go to war, which, after asking God to show him the right way, he regarded as a just war."

Goltz is given a letter from the King authorizing him to carry on discreet negotiations with Napoleon. The Emperor touches

upon the annexation of Belgium by France; this question would only arise, however, if the struggle between the clergy and the Liberals were to distract the country, which was now perfectly quiet. What about French Switzerland? the Prussian Minister asks. Napoleon is sceptical. Then he asserts that there is sympathy for France in the Rhine Palatinate and in Luxemburg. Marshal Niel had recently mentioned the 1814 frontier, Landau and Saarbrücken, when consulted. In Vienna Francis Joseph presides over a meeting of Marshals, which makes arrangements for reinforcing the troops in Bohemia, Moravia, and West Galicia. This decision is in part due to Herr von Beust's report of jokes Bismarck had permitted himself to make at dinner to the wife of the Saxon Minister in Berlin, Frau von Hohenthal. "Don't go to Bohemia", he said to the naïvely garrulous lady; "that is just where we shall fight the Austrians, and, if I am not mistaken, close to your demesne; you might have dreadful adventures. Go to Saxony; nothing will happen at Leipzig, you will not even have soldiers quartered on you; your castle of Knauthain is not on any military route." On the 11th of March a Royal edict for Schleswig-Holstein: the penalty for intriguing against Prussia will be imprisonment with hard labour. Moltke is to go to Victor Emmanuel, who is now residing in Florence, with an offer of alliance. Instead of that, La Marmora, who has been Italian Premier since 1864, sends General Govone to Berlin. Mensdorff informs the German Governments that Austria proposes mobilization of the whole Federal army, exclusive of the three Prussian Army Corps, against Prussia. Bismarck asks them whether they would give Prussia military support in case of her being attacked by Austria, and again points out the necessity for Federal reform.

William, on the threshold of his seventieth year, writes to the Duke of Coburg on the 26th of March: "I certainly cannot thank Heaven enough for still preserving my physical and mental forces, since I am to be permitted to attain this great age, instead of letting me be a laughing-stock. But Heaven also only knows how long this will last. You are quite right in speaking of the new year I am embarking upon as opening under gloomy auspices." He complains of Austria's disloyalty in surrounding the Schleswig

frontiers with troops, as she has been doing for the last fortnight, whilst he has not mobilized a single man up to the time of writing. "If Austria wants war, I shall not shirk it! I regard all the dangers associated with it just as you do. Those who act with me will never have anything to fear from Prussia, in spite of the nightmare that has existed for fifty-one years, that Prussia's three Kings only aimed at annexing her German neighbours!!! Even if Federal reform seems necessary, particularly for North Germany, in which direction you took the first step, and of which you have given the first example, that is not annexation. Just as I stood at the head of you all as one of a united body, at Baden-Baden, so I should still stand now, if Austria's rivalry were at last changed into friendly recognition of Prussia's equality as a Power." He exonerates Bismarck's (and his own) policy in Schleswig-Holstein: "The presumed right of the Augustenburg Prince made many of you our enemies; that right can only be proved over individual parts of the country, not over the whole of the Duchies; the verdict of my Crown lawyers is decisive as far as I am concerned. In addition to that there is public opinion and the demand made by my country, which regards annexation of the Duchies as compensation for the sacrifices made. Prussia's King must reckon with that!" He is nevertheless distressed: "So why should there be war?"

Bismarck has an attack of indigestion, or, as Roon puts it, is "suffering from nervous exhaustion, as the result of his herculean day and night work". The King and the Ministry are agreed. At the same time, Bismarck's abnormal impatience and Bodelschwingh's bureaucratic fussiness are not altogether pacifying elements. On the 27th a Ministerial Council in Berlin: Mobilization. A Note from Mensdorff, protesting Austria's love of peace, Prussian Note in reply, which William thinks "rather too cold and blunt", but he is talked out of this by Abeken. "I have reverted to my former way of thinking, however", William writes to Bismarck, "and on that account I should like to read this really very important document through again, in order to modify one or two expressions here and there. You will therefore send me back the Note at once for this purpose." The King is put out by Bavaria's change of front, which will lead to war in the

south as well. "What you have said to Hanover is quite true, but what will the answer be? It may cost us another 10,000 men." Duke Ernest tries to mediate. In a letter to the Coburg Prince, Victoria's uncle, the Crown Prince speaks of Bismarck's manœuvre as "foolhardiness". William himself thinks of asking for Queen Victoria's intervention, through his son, a design which is frustrated by his Prime Minister. "The whole Coburg gang, prompted by the Duke's niece, who adores him, are in league to overthrow you", Roon writes to Bismarck; "hence certain blandishments that have surprised us for some time past. The good lady has induced her conceited uncle to write letters to Berlin and Vienna." William sends Lieutenant von Schleinitz to Coburg with a verbal answer: "In July last year I was on the verge of war with Austria. Peace was made at Gastein. Since then things have become worse than ever. Strife is in the air. Austria is arming and sending troops to her northern frontier against the Prussian troops. I have waited a fortnight before taking counter-measures, because Austria denies that she is arming; she calls it taking measures to preserve order, and says they are not hostile because she has not brought the army up to war strength yet. I cannot put up with this underhand dealing, and must try to expose it." "Lies", "Nonsense", William says in a letter to Charles Alexander: "And yet I must appear to be the aggressor and submit to all the abuse that will be lavished on me in Austria and in the 'red' newspapers subsidized by Austria." The apple of discord is the annexation of the Duchies. He has been told by his legal advisers that the Augustenburg Prince has no proved title to them—"a view over which I had the hardest struggle during the war with your sister and Meyer, day after day". Meyer is a Councillor of Legation, known as "*Königin-Meyer*", Augusta's confidant. To say that annexation had been his aim even before the war is an "impudent lie". "Why am I always being accused of kindling war in Germany?" "A queer world!" The Grand Duke had said that Prussia in possession of the Duchies would imperil the existence of the other States. "You can only have written that in a moment of annoyance and excitement, for how can you even suppose such a thing?"

Telegram from Mensdorff of the 7th of April: the dispute over

the priority of the mobilizations is settled by Francis Joseph giving his word that he does not intend any attack. Will Prussia now send word that she retracts the order she has given for mobilization? The Russian Minister, Oubril, smiles: the telegram reads as though the Roman Emperor were addressing the Margrave of Brandenburg. On the 8th of April Italy signs the treaty of alliance, without the consent of Venetia, in case of Prussia being involved in war with Austria within three months. "Think of Papa's last wishes", Alexandrina writes to her Royal brother, as the mother-in-law of Prince Windischgrätz, to whom Prince Charles, the former reactionary, inveighs against Bismarck. William: "I think of Papa's last wishes every day; but there are contingencies which are stronger than any calculations. Papa found that so in 1812 when he had to march against Russia—which afterwards led to our great era. I am very far from urging war, for I know and take all its possible consequences into account! God grant that there may be peace!"

Bismarck throws the national omelet of universal franchise into the frying-pan (the vivid similes are his). In a country "with monarchical traditions and loyal feelings" it will conduce to monarchical elections "by doing away with the influence of the Liberal middle classes"; of this he is convinced. So Prussia brings forward a motion in the Federal Parliament in favour of summoning a Parliament elected by universal direct franchise. The extreme Liberals regard this as a Bonapartist trick; it is disliked everywhere in Germany. On the 21st of April, after useless shilly-shallying over joint simultaneous demobilization, a Council of War is held in Vienna, and the southern army is mobilized under Prince Albrecht. General Ludwig von Benedek, who had fought at Solferino, is appointed Commander-in-Chief of the northern army. Bismarck to Duncker: the King's proposal to demobilize has spoiled everything, hard as he is working to repair it by making stipulations. He would resign if there were another Ministry to replace him. Italy mobilizes. That is a relief to Bismarck. He has a talk with William.

In the course of this month the King acts as head of his House as well: Charles, second son of Prince Charles Anton of Hohenzollern, has been elected reigning Prince of Rumania, in place

of Alexander Cuza, who was murdered in his bed by conspirators in February. He would be a vassal of the Porte. "Is this", William asks—and here he is in agreement with his nephew, Prince Frederick Charles—"a suitable position, worthy of a Hohenzollern?" It can only be safeguarded by Russia. Charles Anton is a "*couleur de rose*" fatalist, and has not been taught even by the experiences of the dethroned Wittelsbach, King Otto of Greece, and of Archduke Maximilian, the Emperor of Mexico. He says that in that case one must submit, like Bavaria. William expostulates: "That is quite true, but does a thing of that kind enhance the reputation, prestige, and dignity of the State to which the Prince who has been driven out belongs? Is it not a terrible grief to the reigning family of which he is a member, seeing that nothing could be done to save him?"

On the 2nd of May a telegram from Bismarck urges Austria to put her army on a peace footing. The Prussian Prime Minister, to whom both the Queen, the widowed Queen, and the Crown Prince and Princess are hostile, threatens his Royal master with a panic on the Stock Exchange, with the people, with the "city": "I have information from the Exchange, according to which ruinous financial measures are contemplated, and the mercantile community, including its representative bodies, considers the inactivity of the Royal Family incomprehensible, and most disquieting and prejudicial to the country, in view of Austria's superior preparations for war. This feeling, which already existed amongst Your Majesty's Ministers, has now become general in the city, since the facts, which were previously only known to the Government, have gained publicity. It will certainly be violently manifested if—which God forbid—it should eventually appear that there really was some omission to provide for the safety of the country." He reminds William of Olmütz, and that is sufficient for the King, who would rather abdicate than have a repetition of Olmütz. "So Austria will not demobilize", he writes at midnight on the 3rd of May to Roon. But for to-morrow having been fixed for a Cabinet meeting he would order the immediate transport of troops to Kosel, Glogau, and Glatz. But perhaps *Landwehr* troops will occupy these fortresses not later than to-morrow, "so we must put it off till then".

Attempted assassination of Bismarck in Unter den Linden by Julius Cohen, a student at the Agricultural College at Hohenheim. Bismarck seizes him by the wrist. Two revolver shots are fired into the air, grazing his shoulder and chest. Bismarck goes home to the Wilhelmstrasse. The King, the Crown Prince, Prince Charles and Wrangel come to see him. Public ovations. Bismarck calls for cheers for His Majesty, "our dear King and master". Cohen opens his veins and bleeds to death in the night. Mobilization of the I and II Army Corps as well as the *Landwehr*. On the 9th of May dissolution of the House of Deputies, whose freedom of speech Bismarck has now suppressed through the agency of the Attorney-General and of servile judges. On the 12th William inspects the Field Artillery Guards on the *Tempelhofer Feld*. After the inspection he must decide whether there is to be war or peace, and "peace is only possible with dishonour". Prince Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen, commanding the regiment, says that the King's expression absolutely horrified him. "He looked terribly grave and anxious, showing that a serious struggle was going on in his mind, that he was about to take the most serious of decisions." On this 12th of May or the 13th William says to Louis Schneider: "I know that they are all against me, all but Hesse and Mecklenburg. But I will draw the sword at the head of my army in person, and perish rather than that Prussia should give in this time." And with regard to the future he says to a German diplomat: "Though we may carry on a war against one another now, we shall be reconciled later on, and carry on a war together."

A last attempt through Charles Alexander, dated the 16th of May: "You ask me in the very kind letter which your distress at the near prospect of war impelled you to write, whether there is no longer any means of preventing it. Yes, there is a means, and that is that powerful, forcible, and friendly influence should be brought to bear on the Emperor of Austria to induce him to agree to the scheme of reform I proposed at Frankfurt a.M., without modifications, i.e. agree to it frankly. In your position towards the Emperor you would perhaps be better able to exert this influence than anyone else? Think what a service you would render Germany, and indeed Europe, if you could successfully

influence him in that direction!" The rough draft of the plan for Federal reform shows afresh how unjustly he was cried down as the "man- (or rather Prince-) eater". "The whole distrust of Prussia is shown by the abnormal geographical boundaries assigned to her at the Vienna Congress, with the deliberate intention of weakening her, and it increases the more she gains strength, and is united, although divided into two halves. Yet three monarchs have neither of them taken even a step towards this incorporation. I, on the contrary, inscribed moral conquest on my banner, and was rewarded by the scorn of Liberal and Conservative Ministries. So now you know the great work I want done, take it in hand!" The Grand Duke mediates, after the King had already doubted his willingness to do so. In addition to that, the Prussian deputy, Baron Anton Gablenz, a brother of the Austrian Field-Marshal, who is travelling between Vienna and Berlin and is sent by William to see Charles Alexander, also acts as intermediary. The plan would be: sovereignty of Schleswig-Holstein under a Prussian Prince, possibly Albrecht, twenty million compensation for Austria, five million in addition from Prussia for the port of Kiel, Prussia to have supreme command in North Germany, Austria in South Germany. It is a total failure. That would give Prussia the lion's share, Francis Joseph says to Anton Gablenz.

Napoleon, who is anxious to satisfy French ambition by creating a neutral Rhineland State, if not by acquiring the left bank of the Rhine, invites Austria, Prussia, the German Confederation, and Italy to a Conference in Paris. Bismarck accepts, Austria refuses, but would relinquish Venetia to Napoleon as the protector of Italy, even before a war. On the 1st of June she suggests that the decision with regard to Schleswig-Holstein should be left to the Federal Parliament; Field-Marshal Gablenz, the Governor, is to assemble the Holstein Diet. "Even those most biased in favour of Austria must now admit that she has filled the cup to the brim!" William writes to his brother-in-law, "and no one could blame me if I sent her an ultimatum. But I will exercise self-control, although I shall turn the affront of June 1st to due account. Consequently the die will probably be cast within quite a short time!" To the Archbishop of Cologne

who has informed him of the Rhineland *Landwehr* having mutinied, he says: "We are entering on a war for Prussia's existence, and it will only become a fratricidal war if Germany, spurred on by Austria, unwarrantably enters into an alliance with her against me. All the world knows that I shall not voluntarily give up any German territory, and streams of blood must flow before that can happen. Pray for me and Prussia! Then we shall meet in spirit at the throne of God, whose will be done on earth as it is in heaven! Amen!" The first Corps marches off. The Generals of the Royal Bodyguard at the Palace. William tells them that the sword has been forced into his hand. He has done everything possible to avoid war between Germans, but in vain. Prussia, "our beloved Prussia", is to be humiliated, trampled underfoot. But he knows the army. "The speech was very like that made by Frederick the Great before the Battle of Leuthen", Hohenlohe thinks. Punctually at five o'clock in the morning William takes leave of the batteries at the Landsberger Gate.

Bismarck is waiting to hear the first shot fired. "Friend, the time has come to make a noise", he writes with "shattered nerves" to Manteuffel. "I had hoped that you would even have played a little of the part of Yorck there." On the 7th of June Manteuffel marches into Holstein, which Gablenz and the Prince of Augustenburg quit under protest. On the 10th Bismarck sends all the German Governments his draft of a Federal Constitution excluding Austria; the King of Bavaria is to have supreme command in the south. Secret treaty between Austria and the double-dealing Napoleon: France forgoes the unity of Italy, and is to have "compensations" on the Rhine. Vote at Frankfurt a.M. on the Austrian mobilization proposal, which is accepted by nine against six votes. Those against are: the Grand Ducal and Ducal Houses of Saxony, all except Meiningen, both the Mecklenburgs, Brunswick, Luxemburg, Oldenburg, Schwarzburg, Anhalt, and the free towns other than Frankfurt. Baden abstains from voting. The Prussian Minister von Savigny announces Prussia's withdrawal from the Confederation, places the draft Constitution, which has already been sent to the Governments, on the table, bows and goes down the steps of the House into the Eschenheiner Gasse.

Augusta has gone to Coblenz. When Bismarck is with him, the King asks permission to go into the next room. The door is left half-open, and Bismarck sees the old man reflected in a looking-glass, on his knees praying. Then the King comes noiselessly back and says: "I have made my decision. I agree to your proposals." Ultimatum to Vienna. To Bismarck: "So the die is cast. God alone knows what will be the end of this beginning. We shall either be victorious or shall bear whatever Providence ordains for Prussia with credit! Your William."

The beginning is: Prussian march against Saxony, Hanover, and Hesse-Cassel. Only a few hours before the order came Manteuffel telegraphed to William: "I can cross the Elbe with my Corps the first thing to-morrow morning at Harburg, and attack Hanover; would be like a thunderclap throughout Germany. Prompt use of sword alone decides now; diplomatic delay dangerous. Should Your Majesty graciously telegraph afterwards, I should be court-martialled, political situation then saved. I act; military effect achieved." Vogel von Falckenstein has the command in the west. Blind King George joins his troops at Göttingen. The Elector of Cassel is arrested at his Castle of Wilhelmshöhe and interned first at Minden, then at Stettin. John of Saxony goes to Pirna with his Ministers, and follows his army, which forms part of the Austrian army under the Crown Prince Albert, to Bohemia. Moltke's idea: three Prussian armies enter Bohemia, the Army of the Elbe under Herwarth von Bittenfeld from Dresden to Rumburg, the First Army under Prince Frederick Charles of Görlitz to Reichenberg, the Second under the Crown Prince from Silesia through the *Riesengebirge*. Even Frederick William declared in favour of Moltke's offensive, in favour of the "war of conquest", "within the catastrophe provoked by Bismarck" (as he wrote to Duke Ernest), at the general Conference in Berlin.

Von Benedek did not want to command a large army in a country unknown to him; he would have preferred being given command of a division, but he obeys his Emperor when Mensdorff tells him that the latter said he had no better General. Francis Joseph's *entourage*, the clique headed by Count Grünne, the head of the military Cabinet, and the great Bohemian aristo-

crats in General's uniform, despise the Hungarian Slovak Protestants, the troops to be depended upon. Benedek is to assemble the Army of the North at Olmütz, then to lead it to Bohemia, to the neighbourhood of the fortress of Josefstadt. On the 24th of June victory of the Archduke Albrecht over the Italians under La Marmora at Custozza, one of Radetzky's battlefields. On the 27th defeat of the Prussian and Coburg troops under General Flies by the Hanoverians at Langensalza, thanks to Falckenstein's obstinacy. "What does the man want?" King George asks Bismarck's messenger, Colonel von Döring, on the occasion of the negotiations set on foot beforehand by Duke Ernest. The Colonel points out that he is speaking of the Prussian Minister. The blind man growls: "Well, we are all men." Two days after Langensalza he has to capitulate, as Göben and Manteuffel are advancing. His army surrenders. He himself goes into exile in Vienna.

Defeat of the Austrians under Count Clam-Gallas by Herwarth at Hühnerwasser, by Frederick Charles at Podol, by their united armies at Münchengrätz and Gitschin, the goal fixed by Moltke. After a check to the Crown Prince's army at Trautenau, a succession of Prussian victories. Public demonstrations in front of William's Palace, and even in front of Bismarck's apartment. Early on the 30th of June the King starts for the theatre of war with the Prime Minister, Roon, and Moltke. At Reichenberg in the evening. Bismarck says in his memoirs: "There were 1,800 Austrian prisoners in the town of 28,000 inhabitants occupied by only 500 soldiers of the Army Service Corps, armed with old carbines; the Saxon cavalry were but a few miles away. They could have reached Reichenberg in a night and captured the whole headquarters with His Majesty. The fact of our being quartered at Reichenberg had been published by telegram. I ventured to call His Majesty's attention to this, and in consequence of the suggestion, orders were given for the soldiers to go singly, and without attracting notice, to the house where the King had taken up his quarters. The military men were annoyed at my having interfered, and to show them that I was not concerned about my own safety I left the Castle, to which the King had summoned me, and took up my abode in the town."

On the 2nd of July to Gitschin. Benedek had assembled all

his forces between Bistritz and the Elbe, west of Königgrätz. On the 1st he holds a Council of War in the presence of Colonel von Beck, sent to see him by Francis Joseph. The Commander-in-Chief telegraphs to the Emperor: "I earnestly beg Your Majesty to conclude peace at any price. Catastrophe to the army inevitable. Colonel von Beck returning immediately." Criminal telegram from the Emperor in reply: "Impossible to conclude peace. I command you to retreat, if unavoidable, in perfect order. Has there been a battle?"

At Gitschin the King takes over the nominal command of all three armies. A penalty is to be inflicted on the town, because the Prussian troops have been fired upon from the windows of houses near the market-place. The King receives a deputation of authorities accompanied by a pastor. He disposes of them by saying: "My troops are not brigands; they only demand the necessities of life. Tell the inhabitants that I have not come to make war on peaceable citizens, but to defend Prussia's honour against calumny." In the afternoon (it is still the 2nd of June) a Council of War with Frederick Charles decides to allow the troops a couple of days' rest. The Prince goes back to his quarters at the Castle of Kamenitz. News: Great hostile masses are moving on this side of the Elbe from Josefstadt to Königgrätz; according to reports from prisoners Benedek's army is assembling between the Elbe, Bistritz, and Königgrätz. At eleven o'clock at night Voigts-Rhetz, Frederick Charles's Chief of the Staff, is at Gitschin. Moltke wakes the old gentleman, who has slept a little on his camp-bed at the inn *Zum Löwen*. Generals Roon, Alvensleben, Treschow, and Moltke will engage the enemy in battle this side of the Elbe, as the Crown Prince will arrive in time to deal with the right flank. At midnight two aide-de-camps gallop off; towards four o'clock in the morning they are with the Crown Prince and Blumenthal, his Chief of the Staff. At five o'clock the King moves off, mounts his horse at the village of Dub, and sees the battle raging along the whole line, with Sadowa as the centre. The Prussian Reserve divisions are already being brought into action. "The infantry fight swayed to and fro", William writes to Augusta. "At last we perceived the first signs of the approaching Guards." And farther on: "I rode through the

regiments, which greeted me with loud cheers, whilst pipes played *Heil dir im Siegerkranz*, etc.; a thrilling moment." He meets the 2nd Guards Division and part of the Fusilier regiment advancing with drums rolling: "The officers rushed to kiss my hands, which I had to allow this time, and so we went on, under fire, it is true, always forwards, and from one body of troops to another, and everywhere the never-ending cheers. Those are moments that must be experienced to be understood." The senseless "romance" of the Austrian cavalry charge. William exposes himself. The military men turn to Bismarck, who is also a Major. "No other warning was of any avail", he writes to Joanna, 'and no one would have ventured to speak as I took the liberty of doing, seeing that ten cuirassiers and fifteen horses were lying bathed in blood beside us and the shells were falling unpleasantly close to the King. Fortunately the worst one did not burst. I would rather have it so, however, than see him over-cautious. He was enthusiastic about his troops, and with justice, so that he hardly appeared to notice the shells whizzing and bursting; he was as calm and as much at ease as on the Kreuzberg, and was continually finding fresh battalions that he must thank and greet until we had got well under fire again. But he has heard so much about it that he will not do it in future." At eight o'clock meeting between the King and the formerly pacifist Crown Prince. "I gave him the Order *pour le mérite* myself", William goes on to tell his wife, "so that the tears poured down his cheeks, for he had not received my telegram conferring it on him. Consequently it was a complete surprise."

General Gablenz asks twice for an armistice, as the Austrian army is no longer capable of fighting. A telegram from Napoleon, who wants to limit the Prussian victory: Francis Joseph has ceded Venetia to him, and asked him to mediate. William makes a note dated Horitz, the 5th of July: "What do we demand? The annexation of Schleswig-Holstein, German Federal reform with Prussian supremacy over the whole of Germany. Then, in addition, solely on account of our unparalleled victories: compensation for the costs of the war, abdication of the enemy Sovereigns of Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Meiningen and Nassau, in favour of the heirs to their thrones; cession of perhaps a Bohemian frontier

zone, of East Friesland, and of the hereditary claims to Brunswick. Or refuse?" Prince Reuss, the Minister in Munich, goes to Paris with a letter from William. He is to say that an armistice is impossible without the consent of Italy and without a secure foundation for peace. Napoleon has, in fact, agreed to reform of the Federal *status*. The Emperor is weary, Eugénie full of resentment. The King is now an annexationist; he wants Austrian Silesia, parts of Saxony (the Leipzig district), Upper Hesse and Bavaria, Ansbach and Bayreuth, and Bismarck is obliged to curb his ambitions. "Although we do not flatter ourselves that we have conquered the world", he writes to Joanna on the 9th of July, "we shall secure a peace worth having. But we are just as readily carried away as discouraged, and I have the thankless task of throwing cold water on the optimism, and pointing out that we are not the only people in Europe, but still have three neighbours."

Napoleon's Minister, Benedetti, who left Berlin on the 9th and suddenly arrived at Bismarck's quarters at Zwittau, where a revolver lay beside his papers in the empty room, travels in Bismarck's carriage to Count Fries's Castle of Cernahora, William's headquarters. He is received in audience by the King. The Prime Minister and the King now speak of extensive annexations in North Germany, of uniting the two Prussian territorial halves (which William had repudiated any intention of doing before the victory). On the 12th Bismarck is present at a Council of War: the military men are anxious to march on Vienna without delay; it is the "stab in the heart" to the Habsburg monarchy of which they dream. Bismarck arrives late. The King tells him that they are discussing the question of storming the Floridsdorf fortresses outside Vienna, which it is estimated might involve the loss of 2,000 men. Bismarck asks whether it is necessary to storm the Floridsdorf fortresses, and advises crossing the Danube at Pressburg. "The King asked for a map, and spoke in favour of this proposal; it was agreed to against the grain, it seemed to me, but it was done. I regarded the annoyance my behaviour caused in military circles as the result of an independent military policy which could not be allowed to exert a decisive influence on the policy of the State and its future."

Headquarters at Brünn on the 13th. The King tells the Burgomaster that the war was neither his choice nor his wish; he was forced into it by the monarchs whose armies, not the peaceable citizens of the country, he was now fighting. (Bismarck had, however, tried to stir up the Czechs and Magyars against the Habsburg dynasty by proclamations in the Czech language to the inhabitants of the illustrious Kingdom of Bohemia.) On the 14th principles of peace are agreed upon between Napoleon and Goltz: Austria agrees to the German Confederation being dissolved, and will not oppose a reorganization of Germany in which she has no share. Prussia to form a union between all the German States north of the Main. The German States south of the Main to be free to conclude an international independent South German Union, and regulate the national links with the North German United States. Schleswig-Holstein falls to Prussia, a *plébiscite* in North Schleswig with regard to its eventual restoration to Denmark. Austria and her allies to indemnify Prussia for the cost of the war. On the 16th Falckenstein enters Frankfurt a.M. The Federal Parliament has taken refuge at Augsburg. Frankfurt is to pay an indemnity of six million florins. Falckenstein telegraphs to the King: "The countries north of the Main are at Your Majesty's feet." But Manteuffel takes his place as Burgomaster, and he is sent into exile as Governor of the Kingdom of Bohemia.

On the 18th headquarters are at Nikolsburg in Moravia. William occupies the room in which Napoleon slept before the battle of Austerlitz, in Prince Dietrichstein's castle, now owned by Mensdorff. The Italian plenipotentiary Barral is there. The Italian army has advanced as far as Tagliamento, as the Archduke Albrecht, now Commander-in-Chief, has moved off to the Danube, and Garibaldi is threatening Trient. The Prussian General Fransecky is fighting Mondl's brigade near Pressburg. A five days' armistice is concluded at midday on the 22nd. Cholera has broken out amongst the Prussian troops and also at Nikolsburg. Peace preliminaries with the Austrian General and former War Minister von Degenfeld, Count Karolyi, the Austrian Minister in Copenhagen Baron Brenner, and the attaché Count Kuefstein, in the presence of Barral and Benedetti. Pfordten,

whom Bismarck at first refused to admit, is also present. The Prussian military men make excessive demands. "King William" —Louis Schneider's rendering of their views—"indisputably Emperor of Germany! The King of Saxony to be King of Bohemia, and the whole of Saxony to fall to Prussia! Prince Frederick Charles to be King of Hungary! Alsace and Lorraine to be demanded from France! All the Constitutions to be abolished! It needed little more to establish a universal Hohenzollern monarchy. . . ."

Bismarck, whom the General Staff call the "Questenberg in the camp", has his troubles, above all over Saxony. Napoleon (whom he is deceiving with vague promises of territory on the Moselle) will have nothing to say against the annexation of four million people in North Germany, but wishes to spare Saxony. Karolyi explains that the inviolability of Saxony is a point of honour in the case of Francis Joseph. William demands at least Leipzig and Bautzen. Besides that a triumphal entry into Vienna and the payment of a heavy war indemnity. Bismarck knows that Prussia's diplomatic chances are diminishing from day to day. "On the 23rd a Council of War was held under the presidency of the King, when a decision was to be reached whether to make peace on the conditions offered or to carry on the war. A painful complaint from which I was suffering"—inflammation in the leg which obliged him to wear an elastic stocking—"necessitated the meeting being held in my room. I was the only civilian present in uniform. I stated my view that peace must be concluded on the Austrian terms, but found no support; the King sided with the majority. My nerves would not stand what I suffered day and night; I got up without a word, went into the adjoining bedroom, and had a violent fit of sobbing. During this I could hear what went on in the next room. I then set to work to put down on paper the reasons which I thought favoured the conclusion of peace, and begged the King to relieve me of my office as Minister for the remainder of the war, if he would not take the responsible advice I gave him."

William is equally unreasonable on the 24th, when Bismarck reports to him verbally with this document in his hand. Writing of the occurrences of that day, Bismarck says: "His Majesty's

predominant feeling seemed to me to be a disinclination, encouraged by his military advisers, to interrupt the victorious march of the army. The opposition I felt bound to make to His Majesty's intentions regarding turning the military successes to account roused him to such a state of excitement that it was impossible to continue the discussion, and I left the room in the belief that my view had been rejected, and with the intention of asking the King's permission to join my regiment in my capacity as an officer. When I got back to my room my feelings were such that I wondered whether it would not be better to fall out of the four-storey-high window, and I did not look round when I heard the door open, although I guessed that it might be the Crown Prince, whose room I had passed in the corridor. I felt his hand on my shoulder as he said: 'You know that I was against the war; you thought it necessary and are responsible for it. If you now consider that the object has been achieved, and that peace must be concluded, I am prepared to stand by you and uphold your view with my father.' He then went to the King, came back half an hour later in the same calm and kindly frame of mind, and said: 'It was a very difficult task, but my father has agreed.'" Frederick William had not gone to Bismarck quite of his own accord; it had been suggested to him by Moltke, who had met him half-way up the steep hill on which the Castle stood, and had said: "You will find everything up there at sixes and sevens; the King and Bismarck are not on speaking terms." They had shut themselves up in their own rooms.

The old King writes in pencil on one of Bismarck's memoranda: "As my Prime Minister has left me in the lurch in face of the enemy, and I am not in a position to replace him here, I have discussed the question with my son, and as he takes the same view as the Prime Minister, I find myself, to my sorrow, compelled to swallow this bitter pill after such brilliant military victories, and accept a peace that is so ignominious." That is not word for word, but it is Bismarck's recollection of it. And on the 24th of July William writes in his memorandum book: "A difficult decision, to agree to the integrity of Austria and Saxony."

His son-in-law, the Grand Duke Frederick of Baden, comes

to an agreement with him. When Karolyi demands in addition that Saxony should not be a member of the North German Confederation, Bismarck threatens to break off the negotiations. On the 26th Karolyi goes to Vienna, to the Hofburg. The preliminaries are ratified by telegram, and signed by the King on the 28th. "When he had done this", Roon writes to Hause, "the King jumped up and first embraced and kissed Bismarck, thanking him with tears and many touching words, then me and Moltke, bestowing the Order of the Black Eagle on us both, and the Grand Hohenzollern Cross on Bismarck." Benedetti asks about the left bank of the Rhine. "Don't trouble me with official communications of that kind to-day", Bismarck says, and puts his signature to the document. William reviews his troops on the *Marchfeld* near Vienna. On the 3rd of August he is at Prague, Hotel *Blauer Stern*; on the 4th in Berlin.

Bismarck travels from Prague to Berlin in a compartment with the King and Crown Prince. The elections to the House of Deputies that took place in July have very much diminished the number of Progressive seats and increased those of the Conservatives; moderate Liberal *bourgeoisie* preponderates. It was only when he was at Headquarters at Nikolsburg that William answered a letter from Bethmann-Hollweg, a former Minister, accusing Bismarck of pursuing a "designing" foreign policy, and saying that by declaring that there was a defect in the Constitution he had destroyed the "peace which must inevitably be concluded with the country in the long run". "I only opened your letter at Nikolsburg", William replied, "and the place and date of the answer will be sufficient answer!" Bismarck is, in fact, thinking of concluding peace now. He proposes approaching the Chamber with regard to a belated sanction of the costs of the war—"indemnification". This is repugnant to the King, who has received a Conservative deputation. He thinks it would be like apologizing for a wrong. Bismarck cannot persuade him to agree to it, and even the Crown Prince leaves the Minister in the lurch this time, "although a slight change in the expression of his face at least gave me the assurance that he entirely agreed with me, which strengthened me against his father".

On the 2nd of August the armistice has begun in South

Germany. On the 4th Bismarck submits the draft of the Federal Treaty to the States invited to join the North German Confederation. On the 5th William makes his Speech from the Throne to the Diet in the *Weissesaal* of the Castle in Berlin. He has taken the advice of his Premier, as he did at Nikolsburg, in spite of Eulenburg and Lippe's indignation. "Indemnification was essential; and he felt confident that the conflict there had been would be all the more surely ended because it was to be expected that the political position of the country would allow of an extension of the State frontiers, and the institution of a united Federal army under Prussian control, whose costs would be borne equally by all the members of the Confederation." Loud applause by the majority. Forckenbeck is appointed President.

The King reads the Speech from the Throne in the afternoon of the 5th. In the morning Bismarck had again received a visit from Benedetti. Napoleon is taking the waters at Vichy for bladder trouble and sciatica. "Do what you will, but leave me in peace", he had said, tortured and weary, to Drouyn de Lhuys. Benedetti is to demand restoration of the Prussian parts of the Rhineland taken from France in 1815, the Rhine Palatinate, Hesse-Darmstadt and Mainz, on the left bank of the Rhine; exclusion of Luxemburg and Limburg from the German Confederation; Prussia's renunciation of a garrison in Luxemburg, for Napoleon wants to purchase the latter from the King of the Netherlands, and has a hankering after Belgium. Bismarck is already more plain-spoken, and he speaks perfectly plainly after an interview with the King. "If you adhere to those demands", he says, "not only shall we appeal to the German nation as a whole, but we shall make peace with Austria at once upon any conditions, relinquish the whole of South Germany to her, and even put up with the Federal Parliament again. But then we should also cross the Rhine together, with 800,000 men, and take Alsace from you." Benedetti: "The Emperor must secure the surrender of the territory demanded, otherwise he and his dynasty run the risk of a revolution." Bismarck: "Point out to His Majesty the Emperor that in certain eventualities such a war might become a war with revolutionary thunderclaps, and that faced with revolutionary dangers the German dynasties would probably be

more secure than that of the Emperor Napoleon." Simultaneously with this, Alexander II is put out by Gortchakoff's innuendoes, and the proposed dispossession of German reigning Houses. Manteuffel has to go to St. Petersburg with a letter from William to Sascha, in which he points out that without the accession of territory "the prestige of the Prussian Crown, the last bulwark of monarchy in Germany, would be irretrievably lost". Bismarck thus appeals to the weak point of the Tsar, who is anxious about Würtemberg and Hesse-Darmstadt, namely, his Legitimism. An armistice between Austria and Italy, who has to withdraw from South Tirol and Istria.

On the 17th of August, Guelph Hanoverians present an address to the Prussian Sovereign, in which they ask that Hanover may continue to exist as a kingdom. William begins by thanking them for being so Conservative: "I am glad to see you here, gentlemen, for I can feel nothing but respect for Germans who are faithful to the dynasty whose relations with them have existed for centuries, and which has reaped the fruits of mutual loyalty and devotion. I appreciate your feeling, and should think less of the Hanoverians if they had not approached me, and thus proved their sincere attachment to the Hereditary reigning House, which is closely related to me." He had only decided on the annexation, which was irrevocable, after a hard struggle: "As long ago as when entering upon my present position I said that I had no desire to make any but moral conquests, in the interest of Prussia and Germany. The statement caused a good deal of laughter and derision, and was treated with actual contempt by some, yet I honestly assure you even now that, if I proceed to forcible conquest at the age of seventy, I only do so under the stress of circumstances, forced into it by the perpetual hostility of my ostensible allies and by my duties towards the Prussians entrusted to my care." Two principles were requisite for it: "Belief in the justice of the Prussian claims, which alone could enable him to hope that the Almighty would protect them by granting him the success in the war which it was in His power to bestow; secondly, in the instrument with which it had to be carried on, the Prussian army."

Fifteen States announce their wish to join the North German

Confederation. Caroline of Reuss-Greiz has to sacrifice two companies of infantry and pays 100,000 talers to the Prussian disabled soldiers' fund; Duke Bernhard of Meiningen abdicates in favour of his son George. Bismarck concludes treaties with Würtemberg, Baden, Bavaria, and Hesse-Darmstadt; and by a defensive and offensive alliance, kept secret from Napoleon, all the troops are subordinated to the King of Prussia in case of war. The Emperor of the French now also proposes an offensive and defensive alliance to Bismarck, against Landau and the Upper Saar, Luxemburg and Belgium. On the 20th of August William writes to the Tsar: "I shall fight revolution in Germany now as before, and no more yield to excessive pretensions on the part of the German Parliament than to those of the Prussian Diet." Prussia will support Russia in her Eastern policy.

The Treaty of Prague is dated the 23rd of August. On the 24th the German Federal Parliament, still represented by seven Ministers, three of them those of the dispossessed States, ends its career at the Royal Palace at Augsburg. William expresses another private wish to his nephew, the young King Ludwig of Bavaria. He feels himself a Hohenzollern, a descendant of the Burgraves of Nuremberg, and tells Louis Schneider that, as his troops had occupied Nuremberg during the war, he had asked for joint ownership of the citadel of Nuremberg, as one of the ancestral possessions of his House. "But there were various difficulties in the way of my wish; even in times of peace it might possibly have given offence and led to friction, and I am anxious not to hurt or offend anyone. So I merely asked that whenever I or any member of my House visited Nuremberg and entered the citadel, my flag should be hoisted there. This was stipulated in a separate secret article, apart from the Peace Treaty, and was carried out accordingly on the occasion of my being there with the Queen." Ludwig II, who is very shy and proud, is obliged to write a letter to William: "Now that peace has been concluded between us, and a firm and lasting friendship has been established between our Houses and States, I feel impelled to give outward symbolic expression to this by offering Your Majesty joint possession with me of the venerable citadel of your ancestors at Nuremberg. When the banners of Hohenzollern and Wittelsbach

wave together from the battlements of this common ancestral citadel, may it be recognized as a symbol that Prussia and Bavaria are jointly watching over the future of Germany, which Providence has diverted, through Your Majesty, into fresh channels." There was never any Hohenzollern ancestral castle in Nuremberg; it was only their official residence. But when William is passing through South Germany a year later (for the opening of the real ancestral castle in Suabian Hohenzollern) the Royal Prussian standard—purple, black, and white—is hoisted in Nuremberg.

But he firmly opposes the over-ambition of the Crown Prince, who would like to see him raised to the rank of King of Germany and the other Kings degraded to Dukes, and even dreams of the title of Emperor for his father and himself.

NAPOLEON'S FAILURE LEADS to the fall of Drouyn de Lhuys, which occurs in September 1866. Bismarck makes a speech in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies: "Though it has often been said that what the sword has won the pen has destroyed, I feel confident that we shall not hear it said that what the sword and pen had won was destroyed on this platform!" The indemnification proposal is passed by 230 to 75 votes, and unanimously in the *Herrenhaus*, although the Conservative, Kleist-Retzow, regretted the dangerous surrender of the Government. The annexation proposal passes the Chamber of Deputies with 273 to 14 votes (even Waldeck, the democrat, is in favour of it), the *Herrenhaus* with one dissentient. The Franchise Bill for the North German Parliament is passed. William writes on the 16th of September to the Grand Duke Charles Alexander about the negotiations with Saxony—Beust has resigned, Freiherr von Friesen is the Prime Minister—and with the Elector of Hesse, as well as about the approaching entry of the troops into Berlin, still with animosity against his brother-in-law, who was neutral: "I could not tell you anything about the negotiations with Saxony until now, as they make absolutely no progress at all. We have made the surrender of Königstein a condition of all further negotiations, and it seems that the King will at last agree to that, although nothing definite has been settled. I cannot receive the plenipotentiary, General von Fabrice, until peace has been concluded with his country, but he is said to be very amenable and reasonable. The negotiations with the Elector are going on fairly well, as he recognizes his position, and agrees to the release from the oath. As far as your coming here for the 20th and 21st is concerned, I could only consider it as an honour you do the army to which you belong, although you have not fought with us. But I must warn you that all the Princes and officers who were not in the war will form part of my suite, it is true, but will not ride with me—they will precede me, led by the Field-Marshal; whilst only the Commanders of Armies and Corps and the Princes who took part in the war will ride behind me directly preceding the troops. Under any other circumstances you

would naturally be given your proper position. *Maintenant choissisez.*"

The treaty with the Elector of Hesse, the prisoner of Stettin, is concluded; he goes to Bohemia and only carries on an underhand agitation. Entry of the troops: Bismarck, Moltke, and Roon immediately preceding the King, the Crown Prince and Frederick Charles behind him. George V writes from Hietzing to protest against his dethronement. The Prussian Diet sanctions a loan, and a donation of a million and a half talers to Moltke, Roon, Steinmetz, Herwarth, Falckenstein, and Bismarck, as a "National thank-offering". The latter goes to Carlsbad and then to Putbus, in the island of Rügen, for nerve trouble and indigestion.

In October Austria evacuates Venetia. Peace with Saxony; a Prussian garrison at Königstein, a joint garrison in Dresden. Beust becomes Foreign Minister in Vienna, and succeeds Belcredi as Austrian Prime Minister a few months later, as Hungary separates herself from Austria by agreement. The Guelph legion. The white and yellow Hanoverian nobility protest. In November William says to Herr von Arnstedt: "You will hardly believe how difficult it has become for me to utter the word 'war'. If I had had to do so as Prince and a soldier, I should have been beside myself with joy, but as King I was aware of my full responsibility, and hesitated as long as was compatible with Prussia's honour." Ministerial decrees with regard to the new provinces, Hanover and Hesse-Nassau with Frankfurt a.M.; Bismarck had at first wished to create four provinces—Rhenish Franconia, Thuringia, Westphalia, and Lower Saxony—out of what are now the Prussian territories between the Elbe and the Moselle. On the 1st of December he is back in Berlin, having recovered his health. He describes the Guelph agitation to the King. Hanoverian military men are brought to Minden to be court-martialled; officials, noblemen, citizens, and peasants are also imprisoned there.

Benedetti appears with reference to Luxemburg and Belgium. Bismarck's "deliberate" dodge is to tell Napoleon's ambassador that he is prepared to advise the King to withdraw the Prussian garrison from Luxemburg, the former fortress of the German Confederation, but would never suggest Prussia's taking the

initiative at The Hague in favour of relinquishing the petty State to France. The secret is out before he has told William of it. The Crown Prince had spoken to him about it yesterday. He had said: "I hear of a Prusso-French alliance; against whom is it to be directed?" "Is the Prince opposed to the alliance?" Benedetti asks. "He fears, amongst other things", Bismarck replies, "that our alliance would be displeasing to his mother-in-law's Government." On an afternoon in December Bismarck dictates the rough text of the North German Federal Constitution to Lassalle's friend, the sceptical Lothar Bucher, reporting councillor in the Foreign Office, which Bucher puts into correct form in the night. On the 15th of December discussion of the draft with the plenipotentiaries of twenty-two German Governments begins.

On the 31st of December 1866 the King again writes a "testamentary memorandum", as in April 1857, and he looks back on the years of the conflict *semper idem* in his bigotry and integrity. "These struggles", he soliloquizes, "upset me terribly, for I had to contend against an unprincipled attack on the earthly power which I could not surrender without sacrificing the future of Prussia. I forgive all who wittingly or unwittingly opposed what I proposed, conscientiously believing it for the good of the country, in order to diminish the power of the Crown and alienate the affections of the Prussians from it. But my successors must not forget that times such as those of 1861 to 1866 were possible. In the year which ends to-day God has granted Prussia mercies that amply compensate for all the suffering." "My heart-felt thanks are due to all ranks of the army for the devotion and self-sacrifice they showed in obeying my summons and achieving victory before my eyes—an experience for which I humbly thank God!"

On the 1st of January 1867 he celebrates his sixtieth military anniversary, in reality, as he writes to Charles Alexander, his fiftieth, as he only began to serve in the army at the age of twenty, although he had gone through two campaigns before that. The Grand Duke had asked for consideration in apportioning the cost of the army, as it fell very hard on the smaller States. "But if that were admitted, how could I find ways of treating each

individual State belonging to the new German Confederation differently to my own countries, as regards their contribution to the military expenditure?" The Prince of Augustenburg releases his adherents from their oath of allegiance by a proclamation of the 2nd of January. On the 10th Benedetti is again deceived by Bismarck, who refuses to propose that the King should withdraw his Prussian troops from Luxemburg. "The King is a slave to his duty, and he considers it his duty to safeguard a place entrusted to his care by Europe." By Bismarck, who again refuses to take the initiative in Holland, and sacrifices the Franco-Prussian alliance, shrugging his shoulders! Conclusion of the deliberations over the Constitution in Berlin. A letter from William to Bismarck, with a dotation of 400,000 talers: "Later generations will not forget that the exaltation of the Fatherland to fresh power and imperishable glory, the inauguration of an epoch of greater and, with God's help, happier development, was essentially due to your clear sight, your energy, and your able management of the affairs entrusted to you." Signed: "Your grateful and truly attached King William."

On the 12th of February, elections to the North German Reichstag: seventy-nine National Liberals, including the Hanoverian Nationalists von Bennigsen and Dr. Miquel, fifty-one Conservatives, thirty-six independent Conservatives, twenty-seven Old Liberals, only nineteen Progressives, eighteen members of the Federal Constitutional Union under George IV's former Minister of Justice, the Catholic Dr. Ludwig Windhorst, one Social Democrat, August Bebel. Neither Bismarck nor any of the Generals who had received dotations secure election in Berlin. Moltke sits as Conservative member for Memel-Heydekrug. A sentence intended for foreign countries in the Speech from the Throne: "The German races are uniting for defence, not for attack." But as Napoleon has boasted to his Chamber that a word from France was sufficient to prevent the armies from entering Vienna, the King states that the national relations to their fellow-countrymen south of the Main would soon be adjusted. Bismarck then makes the terms of the treaties with Würtemberg, Baden, and Bavaria known. To Benedetti, on the 27th of March: "The King can permit the cession of Luxemburg, but cannot allow it

to be said that he agreed to it beforehand." Before Prince Charles of Hohenzollern went incognito to Bucharest in April 1866, Bismarck had said when taking leave of him, "If the thing is a failure, you will still have the pleasant memory of a *piquant* adventure for the rest of your life"; and William commended him to the care of God. Now, on the 28th of March 1867, he writes to Prince Charles of Rumania, and refers in his letter to the latter's brother, Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern, who has married the Infanta Antonia of Portugal: "You probably remember all the objections I made to your enterprise. In the meantime things have taken such a rapid and favourable turn that I can only wish you happiness, and express my appreciation of what you are doing; also of your letter from Salzburg, which put a chance step on the right road! Leopold and his charming wife are leaving us shortly, and will return in a few weeks' time for your sister's wedding, on which event I congratulate you. *Suivez cet exemple!?*" The sister, Stéphanie, is betrothed to the Count of Flanders.

The Luxemburg business becomes more and more alarming. William III, King of the Netherlands, has written to Napoleon that for the sake of European peace he would make over Luxemburg to him, but Prussia must give her "adhesion" to a formal treaty, and as Napoleon guarantees this, he signs it. On the 1st of April, Bismarck's birthday, Benedetti comes to see him, and Bismarck guesses what he must not know. He is just going to the Reichstag to answer an interpellation of Bennigsen's. He says to Benedetti: "If you tell me now that the treaty is concluded, and I have to inform the Reichstag of this, the inevitable result, in the excited state of the Assembly, would be an explosion with incalculable effects." Benedetti says nothing, and takes his departure. In the Assembly Bismarck states that the Government "has no reason to suppose up to now" that a treaty has already been concluded with regard to Luxemburg, and affirms the "indissoluble cohesion of the German people". The King of the Netherlands thereupon disputes the validity of the treaty. Napoleon has been duped. French chauvinism and the Prussian Generals want war. The King of Prussia is also alarmed by letters from Charles Alexander and his wife Sophie, a sister of William III.

On the 16th of April, final vote on the Federal Constitution. Bismarck is against the Free Conservative-National Liberal compromise with regard to safeguarding the organization of the army. He manages to strike out the payment of members of Parliament, but cannot prevent the retention of secret franchise, although, as he says, without this the "influence of the educated classes" would be stronger. Speech from the Throne in the Castle.

Napoleon has renounced his claim to Luxemburg, Beust has spurned an alliance with Prussia and Bavaria, which has been suggested by the Munich Court, as an "atrocity". Reservists mustered in France. William hardly expects war. He tells Louis Schneider that he has not mentioned the word "war" to anyone as yet, and had hardly even considered the question himself. Neither Bismarck nor Roon had spoken to him of the possibility of war, nor had he asked Roon yet whether everything was in readiness after the last campaign. Tsar Alexander suggests a Conference between the Powers with regard to Luxemburg, the invitations to be sent out by William III. The Hohenzollern King writes to Charles Alexander: "Much as I consider it to the credit of William III that he put a stop to the sale of Luxemburg directly he received my answer, I must also blame him for having so long delayed making the present proposal. However, as the three Great Powers which have also hesitated to enter into a Conference hitherto, have nevertheless now made me this proposal, to which I immediately agreed, and the bases are much the same as those proposed by Holland, there is every prospect and hope of being able to preserve peace. I do all that is possible not to kindle the torch of war, for how much we need peace in Germany just now! And yet France acts as though we were the peace-breakers, whilst it is she who conjures up war without rhyme or reason. She is playing exactly the same part and game as Austria played with Prussia last year."

At the request of his brother, Prince Henry, the Governor of Luxemburg, the Grand Duke has asked that measures may be taken against the anti-Luxemburg *Kölnische Zeitung*. "Can one", William asks in reply, "find fault with our own and the German Press for abusing a country which, although German, states that the people of Luxemburg will be anything rather than North

German?" The Conference sits in London from the 7th to the 11th of May, and pronounces in favour of evacuating and dismantling the fortress of Luxemburg and giving a joint European guarantee for the neutrality of the Grand Duchy. The Guelph legionaries cross the Dutch frontier, and are sent to Switzerland and thence as political refugees to France.

In June there are fresh celebrations of dynastic friendship: the Exhibition in Paris, the King of Prussia and the Tsar at the Tuileries as guests. An attempt is made to assassinate the latter by the Pole Berozovski. Zola in *l'Argent*: "*Paris était repu de Majestés et d'Altesses; il avait acclamé l'Empereur de Russie et l'Empereur d'Autriche, le Sultan et le vice-roi d'Egypte; et il s'était jeté sous les roues des carrosses pour voir de plus près le roi de Prusse, que M. de Bismarck suivait comme un dogue fidèle. Continuellement, des salves de réjouissance tonnaient aux Invalides, tandis que la foule qui s'écrasait a l'Exposition faisait un succès populaire aux canons Krupp, énormes et sombres, que l'Allemagne avait exposés. Presque chaque semaine l'Opéra allumait ses lustres pour quelque gala officiel. On s'étouffait dans les petits théâtres et dans les restaurants; les trottoirs n'étaient plus assez larges pour le torrent débordé de la prostitution. Et ce fut Napoleon III qui voulut distribuer lui-même les récompenses aux soixantes mille exposants, dans une cérémonie qui dépassa en magnificence toutes les autres, une gloire brûlant au front de Paris, le resplendissement du règne, ou l'Empereur apparut, dans un mensonge de féerie, en maître de l'Europe, parlant avec le calme de la force et promettant la paix. Le jour même, on apprenait aux Tuileries l'effroyable catastrophe du Mexique, l'exécution de Maximilien, le sang et l'or français versés en pure perte, et l'on cachait la nouvelle pour ne pas attrister les fêtes. Un premier coup de glas, dans cette fin de jour superbe, éblouissante de soleil.*" [1]

[1] Paris was overflowing with Royalties and Highnesses. It had cheered the Emperor of Russia and the Emperor of Austria, the Sultan and the Viceroy of Egypt; and it had thrown itself under the wheels of the carriage to get a good view of the King of Prussia, whom Herr von Bismarck followed like a faithful dog. Joyous salutes boomed without intermission from the Invalides, whilst the Krupp guns, the great, frowning cannons shown by Germany, enjoyed great popularity amongst the masses who crowded into the Exhibition. There were official gala performances at the Opera almost every week.

William leaves on the 14th of June, and writes from Berlin to thank the Emperor. Maximilian is shot at Queretaro on the 19th of June.

During the first week in July Bismarck's negotiations with the South German Ministers with reference to a Customs Treaty and Customs Parliament. He becomes Chancellor of the North German Confederation. The Grand Duke Peter of Oldenburg is staying with William, and tells him that Queen Marie of Hanover is leaving Marienburg-on-the-Leine and going to join her husband at Hietzing. In writing to Charles Alexander about the agitation that is kept up in Hanover, William puts it down to the presence of the Queen, and says: "I think I have acted as mercifully as possible in the matter." He adds: "How glad I am that you met Augusta in Paris and saw how tactful she was. You can imagine how immensely interesting the visit was for me, after fifty-two years!" Napoleon puts in a word for a *plébiscite* in the Danish-speaking part of Schleswig; Bismarck's Under-Secretary of State, von Thile, declines this interference, by the King's command, as the Peace of Prague was only concluded between Prussia and Austria.

William stays both at Ems and Wiesbaden. "This is my first visit to my new provinces", he remarks to the Governor von Diest, at Wiesbaden, "but I must tell you that every cheer that greets me stabs me to the heart, for it savours of disloyalty to the former ruler, and the people don't know me at all yet." Diest talks of his being the "embodiment of beatified German history". The King, with tears in his eyes: "God grant that it may be so." He confesses his remarkable want of ear for music to the same

The small theatres and restaurants were filled to suffocation; the pavements were no longer wide enough for the overflow of prostitution. Napoleon III himself distributed the awards to the sixty thousand exhibitors, a ceremony which surpassed all others in magnificence, casting a halo over Paris, the reflection of a reign of splendour. The Emperor appeared, in the glamour of this fairy scene, as master of Europe, speaking with the calm of strength, and promising peace. That very day news reached the Tuileries of the terrible tragedy in Mexico, the execution of Maximilian, the loss, the waste of French blood and gold; and the news was suppressed, in order not to interrupt the festivities by the grief it would have caused. A first, solemn death-knell at the close of a glorious sunny day.

official. William: "What, you play quartets? That lowers you very much in my estimation." Diest: "Your Majesty, I deeply regret that the good God has not admitted you to the realm of harmony He created." William, quite seriously: "Yes, my case is so bad that I cannot understand why a piece of music begins and, when it has once begun, why it ever ends. My lamented brother was a better hand at it; he knew something about music." During his stay at Wiesbaden he receives a number of complaints of Prussian bureaucratic measures, and he writes to Bismarck about the "anxiety" this gives him, as he sees that the mass of decrees issued in June has strengthened the feeling against the Central Government in the newly acquired territories, and he feels it his duty to take steps to repair the harm done. "Prussia has not yet learned to distinguish between her King and the measures taken by her Government. Therefore the King must step into the breach in good time, when he sees that mistakes have been made." He passes through Frankfurt a.M. on his way back to Berlin and, to Bismarck's annoyance, refunds extra taxation paid to the Hessian treasury, out of his private purse. At Babelsberg he said: "I have come back to repair what my Ministers have spoiled." He complains of von der Heydt, who resigns, but remains in office until Otto Camphausen succeeds him as Minister of Finance in 1869.

Napoleon and Eugénie are on a visit to Francis Joseph and Elisabeth at Salzburg, ostensibly to condole with them on the death of Maximilian. Louis II of Bavaria only goes as far as the frontiers of Austria, as he is offended at the Vienna Court having arranged a chamois hunt on his, the King's, Berchtesgaden property. On the Emperor Francis Joseph's birthday the Court discarded their mourning, which the French guests did not do. "Louis Napoleon", says Prince Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen, "appeared in mufti with an overcoat, a tall hat with a crape band, and a black band round his arm, the Empress Eugénie swathed in black crape, whilst the Emperor Francis Joseph held his reception in the full-dress uniform of a Field-Marshal, with the French Orders, the Empress Elizabeth in the most gorgeous attire sparkling with diamonds." The "*mouchards*", the spies from Paris, with their red carnations, are hated by the Salzburg people; Francis Joseph is

annoyed by Napoleon's privately interrogating the leaders of the Austrian Opposition. He has several hours' conversation with Beust. They do not conclude an alliance. It is very dull. Napoleon goes back without paying the King of Prussia a return visit.

William likes the "Babelsberg mountain air", but asks whether Bismarck advises his going to Hanover. On the 31st of August, elections to the Reichstag. On the 10th of September, Speech from the Throne: "The work you are called upon to do is a work of peace." The Duke of Nassau is compensated by a grant of 9,000,000 talers. A bargain is also made with George V through Windhorst. Queen Victoria estimated that he would require £100,000 a year to live in England as a Royal Duke; whether he renounced the right to the Crown or not would not matter. Bismarck is willing that he should be paid a yearly income of 700,000 talers as interest on his capital of 9,000,000 talers. But George continues to inveigh against being robbed of the Crown. The payment of interest is suspended, and Bismarck applies the money to his own purposes. That money is what constitutes the notorious "Guelph Fund"—the "Reptile Fund", as it was nicknamed—out of which he subsidizes the official Press and pays secret agents. The interest is only paid from 1892 onwards to King George's son, the Duke of Cumberland.

In January 1866 the Conservatives vote against the Government on the question of a fund for the administration of Hanover. Bismarck is furious and absents himself from the Landtag on leave. William censures the Conservatives and writes to Bodelschwingh, the Minister of Finance, that his idea of the Constitution was not that the deputies should always say "Aye", but "when Count Bismarck pointed out what was at stake, after the first debate, he was giving you my view of the situation. I ask you all, on whom am I to rely in future if such things are possible in the House of Deputies in 1868 after the year 1866? You positively drive me into the arms of the opposite Party. You know enough of my character, it is to be hoped, to understand that I am incapable of bearing resentment." The Conservatives succumb.

In April the Customs Parliament meet; Speech from the Throne. After discussing the question of an address with the Prime Ministers of Bavaria and Baden, William writes to Bismarck that

he does not personally think it desirable, as it would lead to discussion of the political situation between South and North Germany, which he would prefer to avoid at this stage of Germany's development. On the 20th he writes to his sister Alexandrina, who has asked him for a photograph of himself at the writing-table, in the "historic" corner window of the Palace in Unter den Linden: "I can gratify your very flattering wish at once, as I have a copy of the historic window, and therefore enclose one. I like it very much—in the first place because I am very fond of looking at myself, and also because all the little trifles on the table are plainly distinguishable. To the left of the oval oil painting of Augusta, there are three small oval pictures, of which the top one is a photograph of you and the two beneath it Louise and Fritz of Orange." On the 7th of June, the anniversary of their father's death, he sends Alexandrina a leaf from the memorial, which he had visited at one o'clock, and says: "We spent a long time in Papa's room, and took a good look at everything again. The heat has been tremendous to-day." In the course of the month he goes to Worms, for the unveiling of the Luther memorial, with the King of Würtemberg, the Grand Duke of Baden, and "Louis of Darmstadt". From there to Hanover, where he makes a speech to the authorities, in which he gives them to understand that they have a right to honour in private what they honour in their hearts, but to make any public demonstration of this would be acting in opposition to him and his Government, and would compel both him and the latter to act accordingly. In July he is at Ems, where he finds the heat tropical. "It is very full here", he writes to Charles Alexander, "but very little *première société*. I must go to Coblenz to-day to a military concert, *ce qui ne m'arrange pas du tout*; but as it is got up by Augusta's Women's Union for a charity, I cannot very well fail."

In August a prelude to the Usedom affair. Bismarck has never got over his antipathy to the Count, who succeeded him as Minister to the Confederation, and has been Minister at the Italian Court since 1863, and of whom he said to the Regent William that he was "a *brouillon* but not a business man". The Crown Prince, who is on friendly terms with Usedom, has gone to Florence for the marriage of the Italian Crown Prince with

Princess Marguerita of Savoy. At the request of his son, who has treated Usedom "coldly although courteously", William sends Frederick William's "aphorisms" on Italy to Bismarck from Ems. The Crown Prince himself is now against Usedom, but William does not wish to recall him just yet, as it would be a *démenti*. Usedom is a Freemason, and that is what influences the King, who, Bismarck remarks in his memoirs with reference to this, "fulfilled his duties to his fellow-masons with almost religious loyalty". Napoleon rejects a plan of Beust's, directed against Prussia; he is to propose international disarmament. When out riding near Varzin, Bismarck is thrown from his horse.

In September William is at Kiel, and in reply to a speech made by the head of the University, Lüdemann, he says: "I see nothing in the whole of Europe to cause a disturbance of the peace, and I tell you this to set your minds at rest. What ought, however, to be still more comforting to you is the sight of the representatives of my army and my navy assembled here with you, this strength of the Fatherland, which has proved that it does not hesitate to accept and fight out a war forced upon it."

In October Bismarck becomes Colonel of the 1st Magdeburg *Landwehr* Regiment, and is henceforth an unattached officer of the 7th Magdeburg Cuirassier Regiment; from that time forward he is the *Halberstädter* in helmet and shining cuirass. Again a mark of William's gratitude and respect for him: on the occasion of the dispute as to whether a deficit in the domestic budget is to be made good by supplementary taxation or out of the gold reserves, by selling Cologne-Minden railway shares. The Ministry, and even Roon, are against increased taxation. Bismarck would like to demand it. The King writes to him at Varzin: "You want this financial calamity to come about, so that the House and others may see that you ought not to have consented to a reduction of taxation this winter, and thus make them more tractable in such matters?" William concludes his representations on the subject, which include a word in favour of sparing the newly annexed provinces, very humbly: "I feel that I am not capable of clearly representing matters of such importance, but as I am probably only shortly recapitulating what others have said better and in more detail, I hope that I may have written convincingly."

Bismarck is converted. The King: "If anything could increase my respect for you and my gratitude, it would be the contents of this letter of yours. I must give you immense credit for the decision you have reached as the result of my remonstrances, after what you had previously said and thought. We took different views, and naturally I was placed in the difficult position of having to give the casting vote in accordance with my convictions, when you met me in such a friendly way and spared me any dissent between us. Accept my sincere thanks for it."

In December William writes to the Chancellor about Prince Charles's visit to Paris, and his wife's intimacy with the dethroned Queen Isabella (Napoleon fears that Bismarck paid for the rising against her). "You will have heard that Prince Charles is to spend the rest of the winter at Nice on account of his sciatica, but is going there via Paris, and thinks of presenting himself with the Princess at the French Court. Unsuitable as I think it to take a rest cure in Paris when one is travelling for the sake of one's health (and in shoes and stockings), the question is whether it is desirable that a Prussian Prince should run the risk of a political conversation with the Emperor just when the Spanish and Eastern question is pending. Since her two visits to Spain, Princess Charles has been making a parade of an inexpedient intimacy with the exiled Queen. The latter is in Paris! In view of this intimacy it would hardly be right for the Princess to ignore the Queen in her misfortunes and not go to see her, but how embarrassing such a visit would be for all parties!" Prince Charles is not to go to Paris until William hears what Bismarck thinks of it. The Eastern question is the Turco-Greek and Rumanian. The Prince can have Prussian officers as instructors in his army, but not for an indefinite length of time, "for I must be very careful", the King tells him, "not to compromise your and my political position towards the jealous Powers". On Christmas Day Frau von Moltke dies of arthritic rheumatism. The Queen is present at the memorial service. On the 26th William telegraphs to Charles Alexander: "Many thanks. I had a fall on the iron staircase five days ago, and hurt my shin-bone; the pain and stiffness are better to-day, but I am keeping in my room."

In February 1869 a Bismarck crisis, in spite of the warmth

of William's assurance in October. The reasons are: the King's intervention at that time on behalf of Frankfurt *am* Main, Bismarck's being overworked, and the Usedom affair. Bismarck's nerves are racked; he wants to resign. When he receives the Prime Minister's request to be relieved of his offices, William is very much worried, and says to the man he has called his "friend": "How can you suppose that I could agree to what you propose! It is my greatest happiness to work with you, and feel that we always thoroughly agree! How can you take one difference between us so to heart as to be led into such an extreme step! As recently as when you were at Varzin you wrote to me, with regard to the difference of opinion respecting the deficit, that you differed from me, but that in accepting your post you had resolved, as a matter of duty, always to bow to my decisions, although you would feel bound to express your own views. What has happened this time to change so completely the views that you expressed three months ago? . . . Your name stands higher in Prussia's history than that of any other Prussian statesman. Am I to give that up? Never! Rest and prayer will put everything right.—Your most faithful friend William." To his dying hour at Friedrichsruhe the servant who survived his master will remember the word "never".

In the meantime, the King almost makes a joke of the Frankfurt business. "Sit down", he says to his banker, "and have some eau-de-Cologne at hand, so as not to faint. I have decided to be responsible for a million out of my private purse, and, oh, the greedy Ministry! it has been accepted!" Bismarck subsequently gives way, under pressure from Roon, who says: "It would be absolutely dishonourable of you to burn the boats. You must not do it. It would ruin you in the country, and Europe would laugh." The Achilles, turned soldier, yields. "I was not mistaken", William writes cheerfully. "Thank you, thank you very much for not having disappointed me." He apologizes for the Usedom affair, and speaks of Robert von Keudell, Bismarck's counsellor in the Foreign Office, reminding the latter that he had already consented to Usedom's being recalled, and asked him whether he had anyone in mind as his successor in Turin. He again reassures his Minister and friend: "No one appreciates more than

I do the fact that during six years in such stirring times there have been no differences of this kind between us, but that has spoiled us, so much so that the present crisis has been more of a shock than it ought to have been. Can a monarch give his Premier greater proof of confidence than I have done several times, and am doing again now, in writing privately to you about questions that are pending at the moment, so that you may be sure that I am doing nothing behind your back?" Bismarck had said himself that he was in a morbid frame of mind. "You feel tired and exhausted", the seventy-two-year-old King says encouragingly, "you long for rest. I understand all that perfectly, for I feel as you do, but can I, or ought I to think of abdicating on that account? You ought not to think of it any more than I ought. You do not belong to yourself alone; your existence is too closely bound up with that of Prussia, of Germany, and of Europe, for it to be right that you should now withdraw from a scene of action you helped to create." He must make his work a little easier, restrict his reports to the matters of most importance. "But above all never have any doubt of my unaltered confidence and my eternal gratitude." "Now that I read through the papers concerning this, after more than twenty years", Prince Bismarck comments at Friedrichsruhe, "I am filled with regret that at that time, having to choose between what I believed in the interest of the State and my personal affection for the King, I chose the former. I feel ashamed now of the kindness with which the King put up with my official pedantry. I ought to have sacrificed the post in Florence to him and his belief in freemasonry." In a letter to Charles Alexander, William says that Bismarck's irritation with Usedom lasted till May, "sometimes in a way that was not altogether justifiable".

A feverish cold in May. After that he goes to the *Jade-Busen*, for the opening of the naval port, which is not christened *Zollern am Meer*, but more simply *Wilhelmshaven*. A banquet at Bremen: "Those who have joined the new Confederation will find the transition difficult enough, but a later generation will reap th fruits, and see the house built of which we have laid the foundation." At Osnabrück a speech to the burgomaster. "God's ways are not our ways", had been the text of a sermon, and the King

borrows this saying. To Louis Schneider: "I said that so that it should not be all put down to Bismarck again, and again believed to have all been premeditated." At Babelsberg or "Babylon". The weather is cold and damp. Death of the Minister Goltz. Augusta's recovery from internal inflammation and fever. Ems. Visit to Königsberg. In reply to a deputation he speaks of the contrast between the days he spent there in 1807 and the event in his life which placed the highest and most significant symbol of earthly rule in his hands, "so that I could take the Crown from the altar and place it on my head, in token that a Crown bestowed by the grace of God is intended to be a blessing to the people".

In October, whilst Bismarck is at Carlsbad and Eulenberg has the King's ear, Otto Camphausen is appointed Minister of Finance. William sanctions the appointment, but writes to Bismarck: "You do not think as highly of Camphausen's political antecedents as I and his future colleagues do. I therefore said he must be told that he could not be appointed if he made conditions as to the policy of the Government; in particular there could be no question of concessions to the Liberal Party in order to obtain grants of money. He promised both, although he said that, but for the moment being so critical and his being influenced by patriotic motives, he would probably have been less inclined to join the Ministry. This is significant enough to necessitate caution."

Bismarck is very much tried by the Carlsbad cure. "Sitting down to write", he complains to Roon, "is more than I can do now without being overtired, and our Royal master, stirred up by Baden family correspondence, writes me letters which I could only answer by writing a course of lectures on political history *in manu propria*. This Baden agitation upsets every political calculation." The reference is to the Grand Duke Frederick's wish to join the North German Confederation, which Bismarck cannot allow, on account of the Peace of Prague. In December Prince Albrecht, the King's brother, is staying with Alexander II in St. Petersburg, for the festival of St. George. The Tsar bestows the Grand Cross of the Order on the King, who had received the fourth class of the Order after the battle of Bar-sur-

Augusta in later years

Aube. "I am overjoyed", William telegraphs to Albrecht, "but quite overcome. I am taking my revenge by offering the Emperor the one *pour le mérite*. If you have two crosses, offer it to him." Telegram to Sascha: "*Souvenir de la grande époque ou nos deux armées combattaient pour la même sainte cause.*" "I am almost envious of your having been able to see the magnificent review", William writes to his brother. "I would very gladly take the long journey again at a favourable time of year, particularly after this gracious act on the part of the Emperor, in order to pray at Charlotte's grave and see all the dear places again and the army. After thinking for weeks that the sun had disappeared for good, we now have a lovely sunny day with one degree of frost, so there are an immense number of people in the Tiergarten."

The year 1870. The Ollivier Ministry in Paris, the "Liberal Empire". The Archduke Albrecht pays Napoleon a visit in February and outlines an Austro-Italian, Franco-Danish campaign against Germany, which Napoleon puts away safely without making any comment. William has influenza. He writes to Alexandrina and the invalid Princess Louise of the Netherlands, the younger of the elderly sisters, who are at Cannes: "I drag myself to the festivities and then cannot sleep at all as a rule, so I am tired to death to-day!—the after-effects of the grand ball at the Castle the night before last." Count Bray succeeds Prince Hohenlohe as Prime Minister in Bavaria. In April William writes to Alexandrina: "Yesterday and to-day the last Royal visits have ended with the departure of Louise and the Hohenzollerns. We have lived in a whirl of gaiety since the 19th of March. The quadrille in which the fathers danced with the daughters and the mothers with the sons took place at Charles's ball—an idea of Louise's which gave rise to a good deal of merriment, and convinced me that one could dance at the age of a hundred in that way, for one can hardly still keep step in walking."

Louise is the Grand Duchess of Baden; the Hohenzollerns are the "Hereditary Hohenzollerns", Leopold and his wife. It is still only a vague project; but Leopold has prospects in Madrid, such as have been realized in Bucharest in the case of Charles Carol. The Spanish republicans curse monarchism, which Isabella has made the laughing-stock of Europe. But Serrano and Prim want

a new dynasty. Prim proposes Isabella's brother-in-law, the Duc de Montpensier; Salazar, a Liberal, favours Ferdinand, the titular King of Portugal, or his son-in-law, the Hereditary Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern. In March 1869 Benedetti tries to find out from von Thile (Bismarck is at Varzin) whether his Spanish colleague Rancès has spoken to the Chancellor about Leopold. Prim approaches Victor Emmanuel with regard to his second son, the Duke of Aosta; the House of Savoy declines with thanks. Further inquiries of Prince Charles Anton of Hohenzollern at Düsseldorf. Bismarck tells Benedetti that in any circumstances the King will command the Prince to refuse the Crown, or rather, will not advise him to accept it, for William has no right of veto, as head of the family, and in advising Charles had also only said what he wished or what would "horrify" him. Salazar is received at Weinberg, in Switzerland, by Prince Hohenzollern, who says he will decide as soon as Napoleon and King William are agreed. Victor Emmanuel does not seem unfavourable to the candidature of his nephew, the Duke of Genoa, who, however, declines the honour. In February 1870 Salazar is in Germany again, with letters from Prim to the King and Bismarck. William writes to the Chancellor: "The enclosed fell on me like a bolt out of a clear sky. Another Hohenzollern candidate for a Crown, and for the Crown of Spain! I had not the slightest idea of it, and was only recently joking with the Hereditary Prince about his name soon being mentioned, and they both laughed at the idea too. As you have received details from the Prince, we must discuss the matter, although I am altogether against it." But Bismarck is suddenly in favour of it.

On the 15th of March William sends a circular note inviting Moltke, the former Foreign Minister Schleinitz, Roon, the Federal Chancellor of the Exchequer Delbrück, and the Under-Secretary of State Thile, to dine with Prince Charles Anton: "The object of the little bachelor dinner Prince Hohenzollern is giving to-day is to discuss the acceptance of the Spanish Crown by the Hereditary Prince of Hohenzollern. The Prince and the Hereditary Prince are very much against accepting the Crown, and I have also expressed myself against it, in view of my dislike to the idea; but as the Prime Minister has pronounced

in favour of its acceptance, in a memorandum, I will not decide a question of such importance until I have heard the views of the gentlemen invited to dinner."

In the middle of April Bismarck is taken very ill. He goes to Varzin. At the beginning of May the King and the Hereditary Prince send Prim a telegram through the Prussian Legation in Madrid, declining the Crown. In spite of this, Prim, whom Bismarck advises to deal direct with the Prince of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, obtains a full power from the Cortes. On the 14th of June Salazar goes to Hohenzollern. Prince Charles Anton reflects that a King of Spain is better than a Prussian Staff officer. He gives his consent on the 20th.

Bismarck has sent Bucher to Madrid, and taken steps through him. On the 2nd of May he and the King pay a return visit at Ems to the Tsar, who was in Berlin in May. Bismarck writes to Roon that he is escaping early the next morning from the obstacles that are thrown day after day in the way of his returning home, which he is longing to do. "I hope that we may meet again here at the beginning of August, in as good health as we mutually wish. I have six weeks' official leave." The King has no one with him at Ems but his aides-de-camp, and the Counsellor of Legation, Abeken. Prince Leopold takes him by surprise by writing to tell him that he has accepted the Crown. The King gives his consent, thinking it strange.

A Berlin telegram is wrongly deciphered in Madrid, where the Cortes is adjourned. The monarchical intrigue is imperilled. Prim has to inform the French Ambassador, Baron Mercier de Lostande, on the evening of July 2nd. On the 3rd of July Paris is in an uproar.

THE MINISTERIAL INTRIGUES of two statesmen, each of whom tries to rouse the anger of a nation; the amateur Machiavelli and Pomeranian landed proprietor, and the vain, muddle-headed Duc de Gramont, who has been the Bonapartist Foreign Minister since May, and knows that Bismarck has held him up to ridicule as the greatest duffer in Europe. Two monarchs, whose attitude towards war is not of their own choosing: the pseudo-democratic mountebank in the Imperial mantle, who would rather have retired from the stage if only on account of his ill health, and the staunch old soldier in the unaccustomed plain clothes of a guest at a watering-place. On the 3rd of July, even before receiving Mercier's report, de Gramont desires the Chargé d'Affaires, Le Sourd, to interpellate the Prussian Government, Benedetti being on leave and at Wildbad, and on receiving Mercier's telegram he applies the torch on the 4th through the Havas agency and the *Constitutionnel*. On the 5th William writes to Augusta at Coblenz: "I am better to-day, although tired; I have just driven to Nassau to get a little fresh air after such a sudden hot day; I am not strong enough to walk or talk. Unless I come to Coblenz on Sunday I shall not see you again until you come here. The Spanish bomb has suddenly burst, but not at all in the way that was reported. We have not heard a word about it from the cousin. The Spanish Chargé d'Affaires in Berlin has already called Thile to account; he naturally replied that the Government knew nothing at all about it, and that no information had been received here yet as to what was going on between Prim and the Hohenzollern family. In Paris the Minister also questioned Werther, who could say with a very clear conscience that he knew nothing at all." Baron Werther, who was Minister in Vienna for ten years, is now replacing Goltz in Paris; he is to go to Ems to see the King. But William has also heard what Leopold's sister, the Comtesse de Flandres, has written to her father: "Marie Hohenzollern writes to Anton that people are putting their heads together there too, it is a second Sadowa. France ought not to put up with it, war is inevitable, etc." He puts down his pen; after a word about the "disastrous" doctrine

of infallibility that Pius IX is elaborating. "I wish you good night. Your most sincere friend, William."

The day after that Gramont addresses the Chamber: "Details of a transaction that has been concealed from us", "the throne of Charles V", "the balance of European power upset", "the nation", "without hesitation and without weakness", frantic applause. In spite of that an adjournment. "The Ministers in Paris spoke very sensibly and secured an adjournment", William remarks in a letter to Augusta of July 7th: "Between ourselves I should like to manage that Leopold is not elected, *Qui vivra verra.* I must conclude, as the military band from Coblenz is beginning to play." On the evening of the 8th Benedetti is at Ems, worked up by an order from Gramont to demand "positive information" direct from the King: "If you succeed in getting the King to withdraw his consent to the candidature, it will be an immense success. If not, there will be war." On the morning of the 9th of July Werther calls to see Benedetti, and says that the King could not forbid the Prince to accept, and could, therefore, hardly command him to renounce the Crown, or advise him to do so (which is not in accordance with the facts). Nevertheless, William receives the Minister in the afternoon after Augusta's return to Coblenz, thus taking a personal step which he ought not to have taken. He repeats the statement Werther had made. But he adds that if Leopold, who is now in Switzerland, should decide to renounce the Crown, he would approve of the decision. Benedetti has a second audience on the 11th. The King now says that he expects the answer from Sigmaringen within twenty-four hours; it will probably be a renunciation. If people in Paris did not believe the Prince would go, there would be reason for it, for of course he knew what Gramont was saying, and the preparations for war that were being made in France. The wish he expresses to Augusta is: "Heaven grant that the Hohenzollerns may be sensible." Gramont telegraphs to Benedetti: "We want the answer for to-morrow, the day after would be too late." Peace is assured, Napoleon telegraphs to Victor Emmanuel, who would now like to propose the Duke of Aosta. Roon leaves Gütergotz, hurries to Berlin, and has a talk with the Ministers on the 11th, without Bismarck and Camp-

hausen. Moltke is at Creisau, near Schweidnitz; is driving out with his brother, his sister-in-law, and their daughters; opens a telegram that a telegraph boy gives him. "It is a stupid business", he says an hour later. "I must go to Berlin to-night."

The 12th of July. Prince Charles Anton renounces the Crown in Leopold's name, by telegram to Prim and the Spanish Minister in Paris, Olozaga. At three o'clock in the afternoon Werther goes straight from the station to call on the Duc de Gramont. The Duke is disappointed. Werther, who has only the limited intelligence of the aristocratic diplomat, smiles and stammers that his Sovereign had not supposed that the candidature of a Prince nearly related to the French Imperial House could be objected to in Paris (the Hohenzollern in question is the grandson of a Murat). The Duke has an idea, and scribbles it down for him on a sheet of paper. The King is to put an end to all misunderstanding between the French and Prussian Governments by writing a letter to the Emperor Napoleon. Then Ollivier comes in, after stormy scenes in the Chamber. Werther, who is not mentally master of the situation, promises to report to Ems. William writes to Augusta that he has sent Werther to Paris for an interview with Napoleon. "The hourly telegrams, often three or four at a time, prevent me from leaving this place, and the march past of the troops in this heat, and journey to Coblenz, dinner, etc., would be too much for me." He had invited Benedetti, the Turk Aristarchi-Bey, and the Russian Timaschew to dine that day. "Bismarck will be here to-morrow. He is certainly still in favour of the candidate at heart." Then he adds: "A telegram has just come from Colonel Strantz, who informs me in cryptic language that Leopold withdraws. It is a great relief to my mind. But say nothing about it to anyone."

Bismarck arrives in Berlin after a ten hours' journey from Varzin, where he has been "as peaceful as in Arcadia" until the 6th, and is to go on to Ems by a night train. In 1892 he tells a Frenchman, M. des Houx, that two things irritated him particularly. "In the first place I was annoyed at Count Benedetti having dealt directly with the King. In addition to that I had news from Paris which irritated me. Our Minister there was Freiherr von Werther, who was also Minister in Vienna in 1866.

He attracted the lightning, but not in the same way as a lightning conductor. I discovered that he had accepted the text of a letter which they wanted to urge the King to sign. This letter was so expressed that it might be said: '*La Prusse cane*'." That means (and in German it applies to dogs): Prussia draws in her horns. Bismarck sends word from Berlin that he is upset by the heat. Why? He scorns to be the one to "purchase peace at a price". He sends Count Eulenburg to Ems. To Joanna he writes that he will probably return to Varzin in a few days' time, whether still as Prime Minister is another question.

The 13th of July. In the night another telegram comes for Benedetti from Gramont, telling him to lose no time in asking the King to promise once for all not to allow the Prince to resume his candidature. Benedetti is to be given an audience of the King in the morning if a letter has arrived from Prince Charles Anton. He goes for a walk in the park, near the wells, to meet one of the aides-de-camp. On the promenade by the wells the overseer gives Abeken a special edition of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, which states that Prince Leopold has withdrawn his candidature, "in accordance with the feeling which makes it impossible for him, as a Prussian and German officer, to plunge Germany into war on his account, and at the same time involve Spain in a sanguinary struggle." That is dated from Sigmaringen; from Paris: "The funds have gone up from 69 to 75. Peace is considered assured." The King gives the paper to his aide-de-camp, General Anton Radziwill (again a Radziwill), to take over to Benedetti. A few minutes later William and Benedetti meet face to face. The King, in a friendly manner: "The messenger from Sigmaringen has not arrived yet, but you see the good news here. That will put an end to all your anxiety and trouble." But the Minister still has to carry out his tiresome mission. William is surprised. Three times Benedetti asks for authority to telegraph to Paris in the sense desired by Gramont. The King breaks off the conversation, makes a sign to Radziwill and goes away. "Instead of being satisfied", he writes to Augusta, "I found that he wanted me to declare *à tout jamais* that I would never again give my consent, in case of this candidature being revived, which of course I decidedly refused to do, all the more as I had not

yet received any details directly, and when he became more urgent and almost impertinent, I ended by saying: 'Supposing your Emperor himself were to adopt this candidature, I should have to oppose him owing to the promise I had been asked to give.' In short, he seemed to have been instructed to put pressure on me to obtain the promise." William is still more offended when he is shown Werther's telegram. Abeken tells him that a telegram has come, but is not a suitable one to be read out officially to the King of Prussia. "Well, then", he replies, "assume that we are private individuals for a time." "Did one ever hear of such insolence?" he asks in a letter to Augusta in the afternoon. "I am to appear before the world as a penitent sinner in a thing which I never suggested, and which was managed, not by me but by Prim, who is left quite out of account! Unfortunately Werther did not immediately leave the room and refer his interlocutor to Bismarck when such a demand was made. They even went so far as to say that they would entrust the matter to Benedetti. He wanted to leave this evening; after I had sent him word through Anton that I could not grant him a second interview with regard to a thing that had already been definitely refused early this morning, which he had again been instructed by telegram to urge; he acquiesced unexpectedly quickly. Unfortunately it must be assumed from this inconceivable behaviour that they want to provoke us, *coûte que coûte*, and that the Emperor is overridden *malgré lui* by his inexperienced schemers." In spite of this, Benedetti has a short farewell audience of the King, perfect courtesy being observed.

On the same 13th of July Abeken sends Bismarck a cipher telegram from Ems, with the following lines dictated to him by the King: "Count Benedetti waylaid me on the Promenade, in order to request me to authorize him to telegraph that I pledged myself for the future never again to give my consent if the Hohenzollerns reverted to their candidature. He ended by urging it very strongly, and at last I refused rather sternly, for one neither can nor ought to give such undertakings *à tout jamais*. Of course I told him that I had received no news, as yet, and that as he had earlier information through Paris and Madrid than I had, he must surely see that my Government

had nothing to do with it." To this Abeken appended his own account, worded in heavy bureaucratic style: "As the King had told Count Benedetti that he expected news from the Prince, His most gracious Majesty, acting on Count Eulenburg's and my suggestion with regard to the above-mentioned demand, decided not to receive Count Benedetti again, but only to send him word through the aide-de-camp that His Majesty had now received confirmation from the Prince of the news which Benedetti had already had from Paris, and he had nothing further to say to the Minister. His Majesty leaves it to Your Excellency to decide whether the fresh demand made by Benedetti and its refusal ought to be communicated both to our Minister and the Press, or not."

In the morning Bismarck is a seething volcano. He has ordered the culprit Werther to quit Paris at once on sick-leave. He does not intend to be Chancellor any longer, as "the King had received the French Minister in audience four days in succession during his stay at Ems, under pressure of threats, and had exposed his monarchical person to disgraceful treatment from these foreign agents, without official support". He tells Roon and Moltke, who dine with him, that he will resign; they remonstrate with him. Abeken's telegram, with about two hundred groups of words, is deciphered. The three are not absolutely overcome. Bismarck studies and pores over Abeken's text, and cuts it down, with his talent for making trouble. The conclusion now reads: "Upon this His Majesty refused to receive the French Minister again, and sent him word through the aide-de-camp in attendance that His Majesty had no further communication to make to the Minister." The Ems telegram was not falsified, it was re-edited. Roon: "That sounds better." Moltke: "It sounded like a signal of surrender before, now it is like a flourish of trumpets." Bismarck, who has ascertained from the Chief of the Staff that the army is prepared, now feels safe: the King can no longer go back, he no longer listens to the Queen, in June 1866 war is inevitable. Roon is longing for it and drinks: "The God of old still lives, and will not let us go down into the grave in dishonour." Moltke casts his eyes up to the ceiling, strikes his sunken breast, and says after the manner of Turennes: "If I

can only live to lead our armies in such a war, the devil may take this old carcass as soon after that as he likes."

The 14th of July. A Cabinet Council in Paris, with Napoleon, at nine o'clock in the morning. The special edition of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* has been published. Werther, who is to be represented by Count Solms, comes to Gramont and complains that he is placed in the most unpleasant position; his Government have found great fault with him; he has to leave. At twelve o'clock another Cabinet Council. Lebœuf, the War Minister, urges mobilization. Napoleon wants to fall back on a European Conference. Mobilization is delayed. After six o'clock Ollivier brings Gramont a telegram from Munich; Bismarck has informed Bavaria that King William, having been insulted by Benedetti, has refused him an audience. Lebœuf drives to Saint-Cloud. A Crown Council at ten o'clock at night. "Sire", Gramont exclaims to the Emperor, "if you speak of a Congress again, I shall throw my portfolio down at your feet." Napoleon is helpless against the war party. With a trembling hand he signs the declaration of war which Eugénie brings to his bedroom. Mobilization is ordered. Everything is publicly known, William writes in the morning to Augusta. "I shall break off my course of waters and go to Berlin early to-morrow morning, as my presence there is absolutely necessary. Perhaps some arrangement may yet be possible, but only one which does not touch my personal honour and that of the nation. It is an exact repetition of 1865 to 1866; *avilir et après démolir*. Of course you take the same view, in spite of your personal wishes. You are perhaps right in much of what you say; but we have got beyond that now, for nothing can avail when the mischief-makers want war. It is clear enough. *Au revoir*." He sees Augusta after three o'clock. "She implores him in tears", Bismarck says, "to avert war, remembering Jena and Tilsit."

The 15th of July. Gramont in the Senate, whose members are unanimously in favour of war. Ollivier in the Chamber. The republicans supporting Arago and Jules Favre protest. Uproar against the seventy-year-old Thiers, when he says, "The war is not for a great French interest, but on account of the mistakes made by the Cabinet." But a Committee votes the war credits

that very day. William to Augusta: "I had great difficulty in mastering my emotion when saying good-bye. God grant that the danger may be averted. I bid you farewell from here, from this pleasant valley, this time far from peaceful, it is true. *Au revoir.* God be with us.—Your most faithful friend W." He gets into the train for Berlin. Bismarck, Roon, and Moltke come as far as Brandenburg to meet him; the Crown Prince joins them. "He was not a little surprised at seeing us", the latter notes in his diary, "but, after hearing Count Bismarck's report during the remainder of the journey, he could not urge anything material against the necessity of ordering mobilization." Thile meets them at the temporary Potsdam station in Berlin with fresh telegrams. Discussion beneath the chandelier of the waiting-room. Roon describes the scene in glowing language: "The Crown Prince stood beside the King like a flaming God of War, half-turned towards us, a perfect type of Teutonic fury." The Paris telegrams. According to his son's diary, the King says that "the VII and VIII Army Corps must now be mobilized, as the French would certainly be at Mainz within twenty-four hours. But I urged His Majesty to order mobilization of the whole army at once, *Landwehr* and navy, for under these circumstances there was no time to lose. The King then agreed to that too, and ordered the mobilization while still in the waiting-room, which news I immediately announced to the public lingering on the platform. The King embraced me with the greatest emotion."

Roon holds a consultation at the War Ministry with Moltke, Podbielski, and a few other Generals. After that a decision in the evening at William's Palace. The crowd shout "Hurrah" and sing *Ich bin ein Preusse* ["I am a Prussian."—Tr.) till eleven o'clock. They have already sung the *Wacht am Rhein* on the way from the station to the Linden. "The King did not recognize the last song", the Crown Prince says, "until I called his attention to it." "Thus", William writes to his wife, "the iron dice have fallen, more rapidly than could have been expected. God's ways are not our ways, and I stand before His sight with a clear conscience, knowing that I am not to blame for this catastrophe. His will will continue to be done and will guide us. Amen." He describes the demonstrations at Cassel, Brunswick, Magdeburg, Potsdam,

and in Berlin: "The singing and shouting are still going on at this moment, 10.30 p.m. . . . This enthusiasm fills me with anxiety, for what chances are there not in war which might and must silence all this jubilation?" But there is to be mobilization in South Germany as well: "In short, it is a national feeling such as has surely never before been so general and simultaneous! But what expectations will be roused for which I shall be held responsible! How will it be possible to fulfil them? God be with us!—Your most faithful, deeply affected friend, W."

The 17th is a Sunday. Council of War at William's palace. Prince Frederick Charles is to lead the armies "with which the King stays, and which would therefore be under the actual control of the latter." The Crown Prince is given supreme command of all the South German troops, of the XI and probably also the V Prussian Army Corps, commanded by Steinmetz. William advises Augusta to return to Berlin: "Should the enemy succeed in invading the Palatinate, that would be the very last moment, and besides that it would be most inconvenient for you to encounter the incessant transport of our troops, which would delay you very much, for even your train would not be specially forwarded, seeing that the transport of troops for the whole army is reckoned on a basis which does not allow of an hour's interruption." English neutrality. Crown Council in Vienna; neutrality, in spite of Beust, and thanks to Andrassy's Hungarian policy.

On the 19th opening of the North German Reichstag with a Speech from the Throne in the *Weissesaal.* France's declaration of war. Anniversary of Queen Louise's death. William drives with the Crown Prince to the mausoleum at Charlottenburg, "where we prayed", says Louise's grandson, "for a long time, and with very heavy hearts, beside the grandparents' coffin". Augusta is to arrive on the 20th. "I am very glad of your decision, for all the family are already here, so that your staying away any longer would not be understood." Distrust of the Bavarian and Würtemberg troops, "the elements" Fritz is to "encourage and stimulate" by the addition of two Prussian Corps. "The enthusiasm has now spread to South Germany, but it does not strengthen or improve the troops." Victor Emmanuel would enter into a triple alliance with France and Austria in return for Rome,

but as Gramont will not agree to the French leaving Rome, Italy is neutral.

On the 22nd the Queen at last arrives in Berlin. She is disagreeable and unhinged. "I am very much afraid that the French are making Spandau their main objective", she says in the entrance hall of the Palace to the new aide-de-camp, Count Waldersee. "You may think it foolish, but I have that feeling." The Crown Prince leaves for Bavaria on the 26th. He is received at Moosburg by Ludwig II, who regards him as an interloper. "I see a remarkable change in him", says Frederick William in his diary. "He is not nearly as good-looking as he was; he has lost his front teeth, and has a nervous, restless way of speaking so that he does not wait for the answer to his questions, but asks fresh questions about other things while the person answering him is speaking." Gala performance of *Wallenstein's Lager* at the theatre. The Crown Prince's diary: "The King thought that Schiller's writings showed a very democratic tendency, and thinks this is why no anxiety is felt to put up a memorial to him in Berlin. He asked me whether it is still the custom in the Prussian army for every soldier to take his sweetheart into the field with him." The clerical "patriots" in the Bavarian Chamber are in favour of armed neutrality. Ludwig consigns a letter to the Crown Prince in which he stipulates for Bavaria's independence in case of a favourable peace.

Bismarck gives an exact account of his negotiations with Napoleon over Belgium, in order to avoid being compromised. Two days later, on the 31st of July, both William and Bismarck leave for Mainz. The Queen is sobbing in the carriage at the Kranzler corner, Unter den Linden. Two old people are parting from one another.

The journey is via Düsseldorf and Cologne. On the 2nd of August William writes to his wife from Headquarters at Mainz: "The trying moments of parting are now a thing of the past, but though they might seem to have been blotted out by the triumphal progress I have been making for the last thirty-six hours, I still feel just as sad, for the future is uncertain, and we shall have hard battles to fight before God's will is made known."

Napoleon is an eye witness of the fighting near Saarbrücken. On the 4th the battle at Weissenburg. On the 6th Wörth and Spichern. At Wörth a thousand more lives are lost than at Königgrätz; at Spichern the Germans lose 4,800 men and the French 4,000. "How clear it is that God is on our side!" William writes to the Queen. "How fortunate this great independent victory is for Fritz's whole future! We were uneasy the whole evening at having no news of Fritz. All the battles are very, very sanguinary, and the loss of officers is heavy." On the 8th he is at Kaiserslautern, then at Saarbrücken, the scene of the Napoleonic "rodomontade". He rides up to Spichern, "where it is dreadful to see the whole place still strewn with ruined weapons and clothing of all kinds! Our soldiers have brought crosses made of branches, and inscribed the officers' names on them everywhere; on one grave is inscribed: thirty Prussians, seventy-five Frenchmen!" On the 9th the Chamber of Deputies overthrows the Ollivier Ministry, to which Eugénie, the Regent, had always been hostile. She summons Cousin-Montauban to Paris, the General who had conquered the Chinese at Palikao in 1860 and plundered Peking; since then he had been called by the high-sounding name of Count Palikao. This questionable soldier is Prime Minister and War Minister in the new Government; Gramont is succeeded by Prince Latour d'Auvergne. "Bazaine", William writes to Augusta from Saint-Avold in Lorraine, "is said to have been given the supreme command; whether the Emperor is still with the army is uncertain."

From the 14th to the 18th of August the battles round Metz, whose object, according to Moltke's plan of campaign, is to detain the army of the Rhine under Bazaine in Metz, and prevent its joining the army of Châlons, MacMahon's army, which Napoleon joins. On the 16th the indecisive battle near Vionville, in which the III Prussian Corps holds out alone for six whole hours and has terrible losses. On the 18th both the other roads from Metz to Verdun are closed by the battle of Gravelotte and Saint-Privat. The Germans lose 19,260 men and 899 officers (the losses being heaviest amongst the Guards, who storm Saint-Privat); French losses 13,000 men, including 600 officers.

The King finds fault with the troops because they are not

gaining ground. Moltke, also irritated: "They are fighting for Your Majesty like heroes." The King retorts: "I don't need to be told that." Moltke sets spurs to his horse without a word. On the evening of the 19th William, sitting on a ladder of which one end rests on a dead Frenchman, dictates a triumphant telegram to the Chancellor from the village of Rezonville, by the light of the flames from a burning homestead. "It was half-past eight", he writes to Augusta, "when the firing from all points gradually ceased. During the last attack there was no lack of the historic Königgrätz shells, from whose vicinity I was removed this time by von Roon. All the troops accomplished miracles of valour against an equally brave enemy, who defended every step and often embarked on attacks which were driven back each time. I am afraid to ask what the losses were." "It can only be described as great carelessness", says Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen, "that Prince Frederick Charles should have known so little about the enemy."

On the 20th the Crown Prince goes to Pont-à-Mousson with Blumenthal to see the King. Moltke has but one aim—Paris. "I found Count Bismarck temperate", Frederick William writes, "and talking very sensibly; I mean that he has very clear aims which he considers dispassionately, and he is not the least disposed to be sanguine on account of our successes hitherto. Our demands, in case of peace negotiations, are: Surrender of Alsace, which was once German, and repayment of the whole cost of the war." And he notes with regard to Steinmetz: "The feeling against Steinmetz is very bitter; he is considered more intolerable than ever, and is said to have sacrificed many lives through lack of judgment." The "lion of Nachod" is appointed Governor-General of Posen.

Beginning of the march on Châlons. William to the Queen, from Commercy, the 24th of August: "I can imagine your active life and your busy evenings, which indeed I witnessed up to the very end of 1866. It has turned very cool here too, and yesterday was quite like October." But he does not agree that she and the Queen (of England) are right in finding fault with Germany's complaint of English neutrality being considered justification for supplying France with contraband of war. On the way to Bar-le-Duc he meets his son at Ligny, the Headquarters of the

3rd Army. He sees the Duke of Augustenburg with him in Bavarian uniform and asks: "Who is that Bavarian General?" "On receiving the reply", Gustav Freytag relates, "he hesitated a moment, then went up to the Duke and said a few words; they were both embarrassed." The Crown Prince's diary: "I urged the King to-day not to bestow the Iron Cross exclusively on Prussians by birth, as he had intended, but also on members of the whole German army, and only achieved this with difficulty after making strong representations."

MacMahon is now quite cut off from Bazaine. Metz seems to be blockaded. There is nothing left but to march back to Paris. Eugénie and Palikao send him furious telegrams. Suddenly MacMahon announces that he is marching eastwards. A forester has reached Verdun through the Prussian lines with news from Bazaine hidden in the soles of his boots. Bazaine hopes to avoid being invested by the army under Frederick Charles, and to be able to make his way to Châlons via Montmédy and Sedan. MacMahon hesitates again, contemplating a retreat to Mezières and farther west. A telegram in the nature of an ultimatum from Palikao insists on his marching to meet Bazaine. He now obeys, although the Emperor, in a state of dazed despondency, tells him that he is not bound to obey a Ministerial order. He goes north from Rheims. The King holds a Council of War. The Germans turn northwards, in order to surround MacMahon, on the east the Crown Prince Albert of Saxony, on the west the Crown Prince Frederick William.

The King to the Queen from Grand Pré on the way from Clermont to Rhetel, August 29th: "Our proposal to prevent the enemy from linking up with Metz through Verdun has succeeded, for they must have heard last night of our concentration between this and Dun, and retreated westwards quite early this morning, after having already reached Nouart on the road from Rhetel to Stenay, so that not a shot has been fired, although we had prepared for a severe engagement to-day. Now at seven o'clock firing has been heard which is probably an engagement between the vanguard of the Guards Division and the rearguard of the French army at Baricourt." He has breakfasted at Varennes, and recalled the "painful scenes" in connection with Louis XVI's

flight from the revolution: "We were shown the place where the house stood in which he had to spend the night after his arrest, but the house itself has been entirely rebuilt, and is only four windows wide. Everyone is impressed by the thought that this arrest, which brought the Royal couple to the scaffold, whereby all religion and the foundations of the Kingdom were uprooted, is, for that reason, one of the causes of our now being at war here!! For since that terrible time France has never had permanent peace!"

Augusta is already anticipating Napoleon's dethronement, and speaks sceptically of the Great Powers and the question of annexation. William talks of Lorraine as well, German Lorraine. "Your views", he writes, "as to who will eventually conclude peace on the French side, are perfectly right, and the suggestions already being made by the neutral league, that we should not be allowed any territorial gain (in case of our being victorious), are equally wrong. It is obvious that this is impossible, seeing the demand there is throughout Germany for Alsace and even for German Lorraine, and the sacrifices made necessitate compensation of this nature." It was not true that Frederick Charles and Steinmetz had sacrificed soldiers uselessly: "The III Corps sacrificed itself on the 16th, to be sure."

The battle of Sedan. On the 30th Napoleon is at Carignan, making his quarters with the mayor, Hablot, and strolling about the market-place in his General's uniform, smoking one cigarette after another. General Ducrot reports the defeat at Beaumont-Mouzon. Napoleon stammers: "But surely that is impossible. Our positions were splendid. What a disaster! Good God! what a hard fate!" He goes to Sedan. A special train starts at 9.45 in the evening. Napoleon sits in the rattling old carriage, whose lamps are past lighting, and nothing pierces the darkness but the red spark of his cigarette. The train stops at the improvised Sedan station near Donchéry. The Emperor goes into the town, unrecognized, to the *Sous Préfecture*. On the 1st of September he mounts his horse at five o'clock in the morning, General Pajol is with him. The Emperor, whose physicians have pronounced him suffering from anæmia, hæmorrhoids, gout and stone, in July, is in pain. He has to dismount frequently, and then he

leans against a tree without a murmur. His face is livid beneath the rouge. He comes in sight of the battlefield just as MacMahon, wounded by a shell, is carried away. He says a few words to him and rides towards Bazeilles with Pajol, his orderly officer Captain d'Hendecourt, his equerry and Dr. Corvisart (he insists on the rest taking shelter in the village of Balan). Shells explode. Napoleon moves a little away. Is he seeking death? On the heights of Givonne General Wimpffen assures him that he need not be uneasy: "Within two hours I shall have driven them into the Meuse." The Emperor remains on the heights, near Saint-Aulaire's batteries, for a long time without moving. Shells tear up the ground in front of his horse. Towards midday he turns impassively towards Sedan. From two o'clock in the afternoon onwards the army is disorganized and takes refuge in the fortress in a panic. At four o'clock Givonne is stormed by the Germans. The firing ceases.

The King of Prussia has been on the Frenois heights with his Staff since the morning. He orders the bombardment of Sedan. Shells and incendiary rockets. Colonel Bronsart von Schellendorf is then sent to the fortress with a flag of truce. White flags on the ramparts. A rumour that Napoleon is at Sedan. Twilight. Bronsart. He has spoken to the Emperor himself. Napoleon's aide-de-camp, General Comte Reille, is already on his way with a letter.

Seven o'clock: Reille has reached the hill. The Crown Prince's diary: "The cavalry escort was quickly reinforced and drawn up behind the King with drawn swords; all those present formed a wide semicircle in front of them, so that His Majesty stood alone with me beside him. Prince Charles"—William's brother, who does nothing—"Prince Leopold of Bavaria, the Grand Dukes of Saxe-Weimar, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and Strelitz, Prince William of Würtemberg, the Hereditary Prince of Hohenzollern, and Duke Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein-Augustenburg, stood close behind us with Count Bismarck, General von Moltke, and War Minister von Roon. The Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar tried to get as close to me as possible by continually shifting his position. Comte Reille now appeared, accompanied by Captain von Winterfeld of the General Staff and a Prussian Uhlan

trumpeter. As soon as he came in sight of the King, he dismounted, first arranged something wrong with his trousers, then took off his red cap and walked up to His Majesty, carrying a stick in his hand, and with downcast eyes, it is true, but not looking the least undignified, and handed him Napoleon's letter with very few words." The answer from the "*bon frère Guillaume*" is dictated to Count Hatzfeld, a Councillor of Legation, and copied by the King. "Of course there was no table at hand", says the Crown Prince; "two straw chairs taken from a cottage were therefore put together to form a kind of stand, my orderly officer, Lieutenant von Gustedt, placed his sabretache on it to make a table, I took some writing-paper with the eagle stamped on it out of my saddle-bag, the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar produced pen and ink, and thus our victorious King wrote the answer to the vanquished adversary."

At ten o'clock at night the capitulation negotiations at Donchéry. Bismarck, in spite of the military boycott declared against him (he had already heard at the station, when leaving for Cologne, how Podbielski had said arrogantly to Roon, with reference to the war against Austria and Bismarck's interference in the military strategy: "So this time care has been taken that we shall not be subjected to the same thing again"), Moltke, Podbielski, Wimpffen, and General Faure. Moltke, who had been remarkably merry over his wine beforehand, and slept so soundly that he had to be shaken by the arm to wake him, had torn off his wig when the French arrived, dipped his bald head into the wash-hand basin, drawn himself up and said, "Now." He makes the conditions: laying down arms and captivity. Wimpffen: "Those conditions are too hard"; he appeals to the "generosity" of the victor. Bismarck, giving him a piece of his mind in his chauvinistic insolence: "You are a touchy, envious people, jealous and envious beyond all bounds. France must be punished for her vanity. We must make sure that our children will be safe, and for that we must have a glacis between us and France." The theory that the statesman is adopting as his own is that of the General Staff. At one o'clock Wimpffen asks for time to consider the matter until nine o'clock the next morning.

At six o'clock Bismarck is awakened by his servant: "Your

Excellency, your Excellency, there is a French General here." The General is Reille. Bismarck swings himself into the saddle, and his horse trots off towards Sedan. Napoleon is sitting with his officers in a pair-horse carriage on the road. "When preparing to dismount, I put out my hand for my revolver, which had got between my legs during the ride", Bismarck relates at Friedrichsruhe, "and, by God, the cur flinched, and turned as white as a sheet." He asks whether he can speak to the King. "I told him", Bismarck writes to Joanna, "that His Majesty's quarters were three miles away, which was true." They go into a Belgian weaver's little house, and climb a rickety staircase. "We sat for an hour in a room ten feet square, with a pinewood table and two rush-seated chairs, the others were below. An immense contrast to our last meeting at the Tuileries in 1867." At eight o'clock Moltke, who goes off to see the King. Bismarck then conducts Napoleon to the Château de Bellevue, with an escort, a squadron of cuirassiers. "The Emperor wanted the King to be present at the negotiations which began here—he was probably hoping for clemency and consideration—I, on the other hand, had made up my mind that they should be conducted entirely by the military men, who could be harsher, so I whispered to an officer, as we were going up the staircase, that he was to call me in five minutes' time and say the King wanted to speak to me, which was done. He was told on behalf of the King that he could only see the latter after the terms of capitulation had been fixed. The affair was accordingly settled between Moltke and Wimpffen, very much as we had intended the evening before. After that Their Majesties met. When the Emperor came out from the interview, his eyes were full of tears."

The meeting at Bellevue is not without some remnant of Imperial State: footmen in livery, the postilions attired *à la* Longjumeau, and powdered. The King and the Crown Prince are received by General Castelnau. Napoleon, in full uniform, wearing the Star of the Legion of Honour, awaits the King at the entrance to a glass pavilion, and conducts him to the *salon*, the glass door of which is closed by the Crown Prince. William to Augusta: "I greeted him by holding out my hand and saying: '*Sire, le sort des armes a décidé entre nous, mais il m'est*

bien pénible de revoir V.M. dans cette situation.' We were both very much affected. He asked what I was deciding with regard to him, whereupon I proposed Wilhelmshöhe to him, which he accepted; he asked about going there, whether it was to be through Belgium or Paris, which latter had been arranged, but could still be altered (this was done). He asked to be allowed to take his suite with him, Generals Reille, Moskowa, Prince Murat II, etc., and also to be allowed to retain his Household, all of which I naturally accorded. Then he praised my army, particularly the artillery, which was unrivalled, and found fault with the want of discipline in his own army. When taking leave of him I said that I thought I knew him well enough to be sure that he had not wished for the war, but had been forced into it. He: '*Vous avez parfaitement raison, mais l'opinion publique m'y a forcé.*' I: '*L'opinion publique forcée par le Ministère.*' I had felt directly that Ministry was appointed, that the change of principle thus introduced would not be to the advantage of his Government, which he admitted, shrugging his shoulders. The whole conversation seemed to do him good; I venture to believe that I made the position very much easier for him, and we parted both deeply affected." On the way through Donchéry Napoleon salutes Bismarck and Moltke, who are standing at the windows of their quarters. "He is now saluting his grave-diggers", says Moltke.

Late in the afternoon of this 2nd of September, David, the Minister of Public Works, hastens to Eugénie with a private telegram from Brussels: "Great catastrophe, MacMahon killed, the Emperor taken prisoner. I don't know where the Prince Imperial is." In vain the Regent sends Prosper Mérimée to Thiers, so that he may save the dynasty. On the morning of the 3rd the defeat becomes known in Paris. Between four and five o'clock in the afternoon the Emperor's official telegram reaches the Tuileries: "The army is beaten and taken captive, I myself am a prisoner." Jules Favre states in the Palais Bourbon that the Government has *de facto* ceased to exist. Another sitting at one o'clock in the morning. Palikao informs the Chamber of the catastrophe. Favre reads out a resolution proposed by the Left: Louis Napoleon Bonaparte and his dynasty deposed. The next day the street vendors shout the news of the Emperor having

been taken prisoner. People crowd into the streets. Final Cabinet Council at the Tuileries. Eugénie says that she will go voluntarily, in order to avoid bloodshed. In the meantime the Chamber is to vote on a proposal to form a Regency Council under Palikao, but the public force their way into the House shouting: "*Vive la République!*" Favre proclaims the French Republic in the Town Hall. At three o'clock Eugénie is still at the Tuileries. Bands of revolutionaries are clamouring outside the railings. Eugénie escapes through the Louvre, and reaches a gateway in the Boulevard Haussmann in a cab, with her reader, Madame Lebreton, and drives to the house of her American dentist, Dr. Evans, in the Rue Malakoff. Evans sends her in his carriage to the watering-place Deauville, where his wife is staying at the Casino Hotel. An Englishman, Sir John Burgoyne, conceals her on board his yacht, the *Gazelle*. She crosses the Channel in terribly rough weather. The boat puts in at Ryde. Eugénie has two attic rooms in the York Hotel. At Hastings she embraces her son, Loulou.

Napoleon arrives at Wilhelmshöhe. The day after his arrival he goes round the rooms, which are still reminiscent of Jerome's Court. Suddenly he starts back, he has seen the portrait of a young woman, his mother, the Queen Hortense he so enthusiastically worshipped. His life is monotonous. When he has finished dressing he has a cup of tea, and however cold it is he has the window open. After that he writes private letters and reads Belgian, English, and German newspapers; he receives no French newspapers. After breakfast Major Repp, an Alsatian, has to translate the military articles in the German newspapers, which he marks with red pencil. He wears evening dress, with the Star of the Legion of Honour, for dinner. Queen Augusta has chosen servants for him, amongst whom there are no Germans. After dinner he listens to readings from French classics. He works at a *brochure*, *The Position of France towards Germany*, which is published under the name of the Marquis de Gricourt, and occupies himself with the North German Army organization. In March 1871 he will remove to Chislehurst in England.

After the capitulation the King makes a speech thanking the

German Princes who are standing round him. These great successes, he says, will "strengthen the bond which unites the Princes of the North German Confederation and my other allies with us. It is true that our task with regard to what is going on before our eyes is not at an end, for we do not know what will be done or what view taken by the rest of France. Therefore we must still be prepared to fight." On the 3rd he toasts Roon, Moltke, and Bismarck, who "have raised Prussia to her present pinnacle by their conduct of her policy for years past". The Crown Prince has a conversation with Bismarck: "It appeared that his idea was not to give back Alsace but, on the contrary, to retain it under German administration for the Confederation or the Empire. Setting up the Empire itself was only referred to on general lines, revival of Imperial rank hardly contemplated. Of course I could see that Count Bismarck was only conditionally in favour of the latter."

On the 6th, Jules Favre, as Foreign Minister, pronounces against annexation of any kind. William's headquarters in the archiepiscopal palace at Rheims. "The latest events", William writes to Augusta, "will probably make the neutral league, which had already shown an inclination to mediate, draw in its feelers. The inclination seems to be towards maintaining the integrity of France! How that is possible no one can imagine! Suggestions of the same kind are coming even from St. Petersburg, on the ground that detaching territory (Alsace and German Lorraine) would be a fresh apple of discord, as though the left bank of the Rhine had not been that for the last fifty-five years, so that, for the sake of peace, we should logically have to surrender the left bank of the Rhine! On the contrary, we must demand the surrender of those provinces, particularly Alsace, in order to secure Germany once for all against France's continual desire to invade Germany. That is also the general feeling throughout Germany, and were the Princes to oppose that feeling they would risk losing their thrones." Augusta is to write to the Grand Duchess Helen, by birth a Princess of Würtemberg, to ask her to exert her influence with the Tsar. "I am personally against annexing Lorraine", says Bismarck on the 9th of September, "but the Generals consider Metz indispensable, as its value is equal to

that of 120,000 men." According to him German Alsace is a "professors' idea".

On the 19th and 20th armistice negotiations at William's Headquarters, the Rothschild Château de Ferrières. Jules Favre offers a war indemnity and refuses to surrender territory. Dr. Johann Jacoby is arrested at Königsberg, because he has expressed himself against the incorporation of Alsace and Lorraine. Criminal proceedings are also taken against the Social Democrats. Writing optimistically in his diary about Bismarck's attitude, the Crown Prince says: "He disapproves of Jacoby's imprisonment, as well as the proceedings against the Socialist speakers in Brunswick, the same as I do, but cannot persuade the King to release the former." Delbrück is in Munich for Conferences with the Ministers of the Southern States. On the 27th of September Strasburg capitulates.

The Crown Prince's diary, 30th of September: "I talked to His Majesty to-day about the question of Imperial rank, urging him to realize that the time was approaching for it to be considered; he replied, however, that he did not see any prospect of it at all. The King appeared to treat the matter very lightly, although he was not absolutely opposed to it. As he was altogether in an ungracious frame of mind, it was some time before he became more approachable on the subject, but then he again tried to evade it. He fell back on the Rector of the Berlin University, Dubois-Reymond, who had said that in future there could only be a 'King of Prussia, Duke of the Germans'. His Majesty did not appear in the evening, on account of a slight indisposition."

From the 5th of October onwards Headquarters are at the *Préfecture* at Versailles. A number of carriages: Bismarck, Moltke, Roon, Prince Charles, Prince Adalbert, Prince Leopold of Bavaria, the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, to whom Bismarck is "my Federal Chancellor", Louis Schneider, the Chief of the Police Stieber, on whose account Bismarck had a disagreement with the General Staff, with his wife and daughter. Schneider chatters about the conversation at Stieber's dinner-table being "entirely about spies, suspicious correspondence, doubtful personalities, denunciations, the inability of the military authorities to create a good police service, the future Prussian Préfecture in Paris,

confiscation, Berlin scandal, etc." Also of "impending dangers, possible attempts to assassinate, measures of security to be taken in case of eventual retreat." "It is to be regretted", William writes to Augusta on the 13th of October, "that there should now be excesses in our own army, but it is only in cases where the inhabitants show hostility, or have left, in which circumstances the houses naturally have to be forced open and the little found in them consumed. Otherwise excellent discipline is still maintained." The Crown Prince's diary: "I had given orders to fit up both the Trianons as hospitals, when a note from His Majesty reproved me for this, as it might be necessary to keep both establishments ready for German Sovereigns, whose advent here no longer seems quite out of the question." The South German Ministers are now at Versailles. The Crown Prince's diary contains a note with reference to what Bismarck regards as an impertinent Vienna Note from Beust, who is urging an armistice: "Bavaria is said to be already beginning to waver."

The great question now is whether Paris, which is surrounded by the German armies, is to be bombarded or not. Bismarck and Roon are in favour of it. Roon calls Paris "Babylon", and growls that the Parisians have "too much to eat and too little to digest, namely, iron pills, of which they have not had a sufficient number administered as yet". Moltke is against it. So is Augusta, who "is credited", Bismarck says, "with having written to influence her exalted husband in a humanitarian sense. A suggestion, which I pointed out to the King, with reference to reports of that kind, had caused a great outburst of indignation, not meaning that the rumours were unfounded, but that any such expression of ill feeling towards the Queen would be a serious menace." But according to Bismarck, Queen Victoria, that is to say England, is most to blame, and he even connects Moltke (with whom he is notoriously on bad terms) indirectly with the English cabal, through his deceased wife: "The Crown Princess, the late Frau Moltke, the wife of the Chief of the General Staff, later on Field-Marshal Count Blumenthal, and the wife of the General Staff officer next in importance, von Gottberg, were all Englishwomen." On the 2nd of October William writes to his wife, who has quoted Chreptovitch, the Tsar's chamberlain: "If Chreptovitch

tells you there is a general wish for peace, he certainly said nothing but what we all wish. But how is it to be concluded, and with whom, when neither the country nor its rulers have any wish to conclude it? You may think that Paris ought not to be bombarded; we reply: by doing so we begin to starve her out, and upon that she comes to the conclusion that anything is better than starvation. Well, the only other choice left is to march away and restore the frontiers of 1815, and give up Alsace and Lorraine. But that must not be done either—and thus one revolves in a vicious circle from one contradiction to another! One sees how easy it is to find fault with what is done, without being able to make any other tenable suggestion!"

On the 27th of October Metz capitulates. Frederick William and Frederick Charles are raised to the rank of Field-Marshals. Bismarck is created a Count. The Crown Prince's diary: "The King is overjoyed, and drank a glass of wine last night in honour of the success." The French take and lose Le Bourget. Writing on the 31st of October about Ludwig II's brother Otto, who was at Versailles and is suddenly summoned to Munich, the Crown Prince says: "He sat before me looking pale and miserable, continually shivering as though in a fever and in bodily fear, whilst I explained my view of the German question, and represented the necessity for military matters and diplomacy being jointly controlled by the supreme authority, and further of setting up an Upper House of Princes. But I could not elicit from him whether he grasped the decisive points, or whether he takes no notice of things at all, or even whether he was really listening to me; in any case he must be in very bad health." Between the 1st and the 6th of November breakdown of the negotiations with Thiers, who is very disheartened and depressed. In Paris a Communist rising; it is put down after some hours by Trochu. In the neighbourhood of Orleans and Chartres fresh French formations, which must be broken up.

The Crown Prince's diary: "The King will not allow the troops before Paris to be used for such purposes, and as his nervousness now takes the form of easily roused temper, the daily routine is often impeded. For the rest, His Majesty looks just as blooming as though he were at home, in spite of his taking

no exercise here either, never riding and always sitting in over-heated rooms. He enjoys the daily dinners at four o'clock and tea at nine o'clock in the evening, when the whole Headquarter Staff and the Princes attached to the Royal suite always appear." Versailles has all the appearance of a peace garrison, William says almost simultaneously in a letter to Alexandrina. His letter of the 6th of November to Augusta finds fault with "arguments which wound deeply", and newspaper articles of which he speaks, giving descriptions of farewell scenes at the capitulation of Metz, intended to appeal to his feelings: "In the end we shall even be reproached with having made prisoners of people with such nice feelings!! All that is ridiculous sentimentality, because the war was not over in a month! I cannot warn you sufficiently earnestly not to let tendencies of that kind get the upper hand." More friendly: "It is only too easy to understand the Empress Eugénie having aged. She must feel it a terrible load on her conscience that she urged going to war! And now having this fall. The rivers are overflowing here too, which is a strain on a good many of our temporary bridges; it must have rained much harder at the sources of the rivers than here. It has been overcast and cold for the last three days. I thanked you at the time for the tethered cow, which always stands on my table."

The negotiations with Baden and Darmstadt are concluded; but the Bavarians become more and more difficult to deal with. "The Bavarians", William writes, "are going back to Munich to-morrow, to get fresh instructions!! If indeed they ever come back at all! They adhere to the demand for equality, but do not expect to be obliged to do more than they wish to do!! Instead of doing it voluntarily at this critical moment!!"

General von der Tann, commanding the I Bavarian Army Corps, has to evacuate Orleans on the 8th of November, in order to avoid being cut off by the new French army of the Loire under Aurelle de Paladines. He has a reverse on the 11th at Coulmiers. The Crown Prince's diary, with regard to the increasing nervousness of the King and his *entourage*: "General von Podbielski tries to represent every day, with the utmost confidence and with phlegmatic calm, that the French preparations are of no importance, that the few armed bodies our troops encounter

could not make any stand, consequently we are in the most satisfactory position in the world—whilst the reports we receive are quite different."

Mr. Odo Russell is at Versailles on behalf of England, for Russia, supported by Bismarck, has suspended the clause of the Paris Treaty concerning her Black Sea Fleet. The King is very much upset by this complication, and says to the Crown Prince "that this surprise is really beyond a joke". Bismarck, on receiving Gortchakoff's Note: "The stupid fellows have begun four weeks too soon." On the 16th the Crown Prince has "a very serious, animated conversation" with him, walking about the garden of his house. Frederick William, in his autocratic impatience, is indignant with the "refractory Kings" of Bavaria, "and eventually Würtemberg". Diary: "Count Bismarck replied that I was blaming him, whereas he could mention quite different people who deserved the blame. As regards this, the Federal Chancellor repeatedly referred to the remarkable independence His Majesty showed in political matters, in proof of which he mentioned how His Majesty read, and even corrected, every important dispatch himself." The quarrel became more and more violent: "I immediately protested most strongly against being forbidden in that way to open my mouth, especially as the matter in question was one which concerned my whole future and that of my children, which I considered a sacred cause, and I felt it my duty to leave no one in doubt concerning my views thereon. Not only that, but it was for His Majesty alone to give me instructions as to what I might or might not discuss, if it were to be assumed at all that I was not yet old enough to judge for myself. Count Bismarck replied that if the Crown Prince commanded he would act accordingly. I said that I had no commands to give Count Bismarck, and protested against his saying this, upon which the Federal Chancellor announced that he for his part would very gladly make way for anyone I considered more fit to conduct the affairs of the State." A case of Don Carlos and Alba, without Schiller's iambics.

On the 23rd of November Bismarck concludes the treaty with Bavaria, who stipulates for her "reserved rights"; on the 25th the one with Würtemberg is concluded in Berlin. On the 27th

Manteuffel has a victory north of Paris near Amiens. Count Holnstein, the Bavarian Master of the Horse, has come to Versailles and inspected apartments and stabling for Ludwig II. He goes back in haste to Munich and Hohenschwangau without taking leave. Bismarck has given him the rough draft of a letter, which Ludwig is only to copy, offering William I the title of Emperor. The specious argument: "In my opinion King Ludwig can only fittingly make the concessions he has already made to the authority of the Presidency, to a German Emperor, not to a Prussian King." In addition a flattering eulogy from von Bismarck of the "remarkable good will shown to his forefathers by the Bavarian dynasty for more than a generation, at the time when it reigned in Brandenburg". Ludwig II, the Wagnerian Lohengrin, the tenacious Wittelsbacher, takes to his bed at Hohenschwangau, and refuses to receive Holnstein, as he has a toothache; then, well covered up in the bedclothes, he reads Bismarck's letter carefully through twice, and writes what Bismarck has written. Holnstein hastens back to Versailles.

On the 3rd of December the Chancellor reads the King of Bavaria's letter to his outwitted Sovereign in the presence of Frederick William. The Crown Prince's diary: "His Majesty is quite beside himself with annoyance at the purport of this letter, and like a broken man; he seems therefore to have no idea that the draft was sent from here to Munich. The King thought that the offer came at just as inopportune a moment as possible, for at present he takes a very gloomy view of our position, and considers it very much imperilled. Count Bismarck replied that the election of an Emperor had nothing to do with the present fighting—it was, on the contrary, a victory in itself and a result of the victories we have had hitherto; and that, if we were driven back even as far as the Meuse, that matter would be quite apart from the military events, and would legally hold good. But the King could not be brought round to-day, and regarded 'Emperor and Empire' as really nothing but an embarrassment to himself as well as to the Prussian kingdom as a whole." When they have left the room, Don Carlos and Alba shake hands.

On the 6th of December the North German Reichstag decides to insert the title "German Emperor" and "German Empire" in

the Constitution. The nephew of Frederick William IV in his diary, with reference to Delbrück: "It seemed as though he had pulled the poor German Imperial Crown out of his trousers pocket, wrapped in old newspaper." On the 7th the Crown Prince informs his father of the death of his sister Louise. William is composed, but sheds tears when he remarks that "she had a true affectionate heart, full of ardent love for Prussia." In spite of that, a dinner in honour of the Russian festival of St. George is very merry. The King is angry at Delbrück's having read out the whole text of Ludwig II's letter in the Reichstag, and is also annoyed at the approaching arrival of a deputation of Reichstag members, because "he is afraid that sending those representatives of the people makes it seem as though the offer had come from the Reichstag before it came from the Princes". He refuses to receive the deputies until the King of Bavaria has officially informed him of the consent of all the reigning German Princes. He has not said a word to Augusta about the Imperial question; the first she hears of it is through Ludwig's telegram of congratulation on the 10th of December. It is just as though a great misfortune had occurred.

The Crown Prince's diary: "I went to tea with him again this evening, but there is so little conversation on these occasions that half the numerous people present literally fall asleep." On the 16th the Reichstag deputation arrives at Headquarters. The diary: "The King will not hear of receiving the deputies. Gentlemen of the Court ask openly what business these fellows have here." But a telegram from Ludwig II announces that all the reigning Princes have signed. Thereupon the thirty Parliamentarians are received in audience on the 18th, with the Reigning, Hereditary, and other Princes, and the Grand Duke of Baden; Prince Leopold of Bavaria is the only absentee. Simson, the 1848 President, who acted as spokesman when Frederick William IV received a deputation from the Federal Parliament, makes the Imperial speech to William. The King replies. He is content and happy when the audience is over, and also in the evening.

On this 18th of December Queen Victoria writes from Windsor Castle to her "dear brother" William: "I have observed the hostile feeling and distrust of England in Prussia and the armies

with sincere regret. It is very unjust, I must say, for sympathy was entirely with Germany and still is, in the case of all well-informed people. But the bitterness against us as well as the long duration of the war will, I fear, soon dispose a good many to sympathize with France." That is an appeal to the generosity of the victor, the same as has been made by Granville and Gladstone. Steps are now taken, however, to bombard Paris. Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen is given command of the bombarding artillery. "Blaze away there, and make a terrific noise", the King commands him. He is now thoroughly tired of being continually worried about it. His object is to make the sovereign Parisian populace, which now controls the situation in Paris, more inclined to capitulate and conclude peace, the privations caused by the investment not being sufficient. So he now takes Roon's point of view. Even Moltke is in favour of expediting matters, for the rapidity with which Gambetta is improvising fresh armies is quite incredible.

The bombardment begins on the 27th of December, as a "Christmas festivity" for the German people. After forty-eight hours' bombardment the French evacuate Mont Avron. The Crown Prince is in favour of the Imperial Constitution being inaugurated by a solemn proclamation and, with the help of his brother-in-law, the Grand Duke of Baden, he drafts it so that it "has a patriotic strain, whilst at the same time sparing the King's susceptibilities as far as possible". On the 30th William writes to his son acknowledging his notes: "What most irritates and completely unmans me is the question of the German title, which is submitted to me almost as a *fait accompli*. When I remember how the question of a closer German union was almost the lifelong task of the late lamented King"—Frederick William IV—"that he had even already been offered the paper Crown (which, thank God, he could not accept in that form), and yet was not to live to see the wish of his heart fulfilled, I am profoundly struck by the contrast between the disappointment of such hopes and wishes and the fact that this great change in Germany falls into my lap, as it were, against my will and against my wish. I, with my inherently Prussian heart, am to live to see the name which has achieved and created such greatness

give place to another, which was hostile to the Prussian name, almost in death, for a whole century. Once more the fates conspire against me, and force me into something to which I can only agree with a heavy heart, and yet must no longer refuse"; for his fellow reigning Princes have freely consented. Frederick William IV's condition is fulfilled. The offer the King of Bavaria has made "with such patriotic resignation" cannot be rejected. But the second Bavarian Chamber has not yet sanctioned the Versailles pact. Bismarck, "whose untidy bedroom is like a lumber room", tells the Crown Prince that the solemn inauguration is not possible until this has been done. They must wait until the 4th of January. The Crown Prince asks him in that case to choose the historic 18th of January in preference. His brother-in-law is willing to make a speech on the occasion.

New Year 1871. Ludwig II still has not sent the document giving the reigning Princes' consent. Dinner at William's headquarters. The Grand Duke of Baden drinks the health of "William the Conqueror". The only one who obviously does not like it is Prince Leopold of Bavaria. On the 3rd of January His Majesty writes to the Federal Chancellor that it is high time to come to some conclusion as to the title: "The wording of the Constitution is: The King of Prussia presides over the Confederation with the title: Emperor, and the German Confederation the name: Empire. Accordingly, in my opinion, the Imperial title comes after that of the King. It should therefore be expressed in future in all Imperial matters: We, William by the grace of God King of Prussia, elected Emperor of Germany. But should it be agreed that the Imperial title must be mentioned first, then it must be expressed: We, William by the grace of God elected Emperor of Germany, King of Prussia." Bismarck replies on the 5th that at the negotiations the Bavarian plenipotentiary had objected to "Emperor of Germany", because it was not the same form as that used in Ludwig II's letter. "German Emperor" was accordingly inserted in the Constitution, and this was also more consistent with the legal constitutional position than the term "Emperor of Germany" with its designation of the domain. "Elected", which was not in the Constitution, might give rise to the mistaken belief that the new Imperial title was an elective

A. von Werner,
Proclamation of the Emperor William at Versailles

title, like that of the former Empire, whereas "its heredity in Your most Gracious Majesty's House, and its inseparability from the Prussian Crown, is one of the most essential advantages of the revived over the former Imperial dignity". He thus takes advantage of the traditions in which his master is steeped to reconcile him outwardly with the "*Charaktermajor*", as he rudely calls the "German Emperor".

William is also very crotchety over the question of combining the Prussian black and white with the Federal Colours, black, white, and red, which latter he would prefer only added to the flag and cockade in time of war. At first he refused to allow Prussian authorities, the army, etc., to wear any but the Prussian colours. On the 6th the Crown Prince hears that the Bavarian Minister has at last handed the Princes' document to the Federal Chancery. The Bavarian Chamber will vote on Tuesday, the 10th.

Chanzy marches from the west to the relief of Paris, and Faidherbes from the north, although he is defeated near Bapaume. The politico-strategical position is very critical. The Crown Prince's diary: "This has naturally upset the King very much. He has been taking a very gloomy view of the near future again for the last few days." From the 10th to the 12th of January very sanguinary fighting between Frederick Charles and Chanzy at Le Mans. The Crown Prince: "When handing a letter to His Majesty from his King yesterday, Prince Leopold of Bavaria did not scruple to propose at the same time that our King should pledge himself, in a document which was to be kept quite secret, to release the Bavarians from the obligation prescribed by the treaty to swear allegiance to the Federal Commander-in-Chief. The reason he gave was that after Bavaria had already gone very far in the many concessions she had made, even forgoing the right she had wished to have of holding the Imperial dignity alternately with us, she surely ought not to be expected to take an oath of allegiance, if only out of consideration for the army of such an important State." Bismarck and Moltke have a long talk at the Crown Prince's quarters. They are absolutely at variance, "because Count Bismarck wants peace, but General Count Moltke wishes for a war of extermination. Count Bismarck

even went so far as to attack the General's most sensitive point, by propounding the theory that as long ago as after Sedan, we ought to have remained in Champagne to await further developments, and never to have come to Paris." Even the King is not spared knowledge of the disagreement; each gives him their separate opinion. From the 15th to the 16th severe fighting at Belfort between Werder and the French army of the east under Bourbaki, which is to cut the German armies off from their base. Manteuffel crosses the Côte d'Or to meet Bourbaki.

The King has now agreed to his acceptance of the Imperial dignity being proclaimed at Louis XIV's Palace of Versailles on the 18th of January, in the *Salle des Glaces*. Schleinitz, now Minister of the Household, has arrived. But the King does not wish to hear anything about the arrangements. Then he refuses to have a throne and a "*haut pas*", an elevation to himself, because, if it were summer, the ceremony would take place out of doors. The Prussian Princes want to be "Imperial" too, like the Crown Prince. But William objects. In a letter to his brother Charles, he again gives full vent to his displeasure: "I consider that the Prussian family holds such a high position in history, and has gained such renown through its deeds, particularly those of fifty-six years ago, and since 1866, that it grieves me to the heart to see the Prussian Royal title taking the second place!! Therefore I wish the family to remain the Prussian Royal Family, in order to show clearly that there is absolutely nothing in the way in which the Imperial dignity falls to me which could be a slight to the Prussian name. I can only consider that I receive the title of Emperor (just as one is entitled Lieut. Colonel, etc.), for it is expressly stated: The King of Prussia bears the title of Emperor as the supreme presidential power. From this it is clear that it only applies to the King in person, so that it is even doubtful whether the Crown Prince ought to be styled Imperial and Royal Highness. Anyhow the question must be discussed from the historical point of view, and time is necessary for that, therefore delay is desirable."

In the afternoon of this 17th of January William holds a meeting: the Crown Prince, Bismarck, and Schleinitz, to whom Bismarck is very disagreeable. They deliberate for three hours in

the overheated room. Bismarck announces that he conceded the term "German Emperor" to the Bavarian deputies and plenipotentiaries "without having asked His Majesty beforehand". William is as obstinate as ever. Bismarck says that the Tsar does not call himself Emperor of Russia either, but Russian Emperor, which the King disputes, as he translates reports from his Kaluga Regiment incorrectly. He goes on continually talking about his Hohenzollern ancestors, Frederick I, Frederick William I, and Frederick William III, as he has no belief in Bismarck's soothing assurance that Emperors are not given precedence of Kings in principle. Here the Crown Prince supports the Chancellor. The old gentleman thumps the table. "And even if it were so, I now command how it shall be." Bismarck's title is to be Imperial Chancellor. That is distasteful to him on account of Count Beust; it brings him into too bad company. The King has not much more to urge against a black, white, and red cockade, as it has not "risen from the gutter", like the black, red, and gold; but he will only allow it to be worn with the Prussian cockade. Then another outburst against the "mock Imperial title", the "*Charaktermajor*". Well, he will bear this cross, but alone. There is no "Imperial Army"; for all he cares there may be an "Imperial Navy". He cannot describe how heart-broken he is, as he will have to say good-bye to the old Prussia to which he wishes to adhere. He cries and sobs. "My son", he exclaims, "is heart and soul with the new state of affairs, whilst I care not a jot about it, and only cling to Prussia." He jumps up angrily and turns to the window. He refuses to hear another word about to-morrow's ceremony. It is nevertheless announced. The Crown Prince is so upset that he has to take a restorative. The King does not appear at tea that evening. He wishes to abdicate.

The 18th of January 1871. Good news from Werder, which has the effect of taking a load off the King's mind. He also becomes more cheerful when the guard of honour marches past the window with sixty flags and standards and the band playing; the Crown Prince has ordered the officer in command to go round that way. An official announcement from the Lord Chamberlain's office states that the proclamation will take place in the *Salle des Glaces* at the Palace of Versailles at twelve o'clock the next day, after a

short prayer. The Crown Prince, the Princes Charles and Adalbert, the Grand Dukes of Baden, Weimar, and Oldenburg, the Dukes of Coburg, Meiningen, Altenburg, the Reigning Princes of Schaumberg-Lippe and Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, the Crown Prince and Prince George of Saxony, the Princes Otto, Luitpold and Leopold of Bavaria and others, assemble in the *Salle du sacre de Napoleon Ier*, which is moderately warmed by open fires; the Hereditary Prince of Hohenzollern and the Prince of Augustenburg are also there. William appears in the uniform of the 1st Regiment of Guards, with the ribbon of the Order of the Black Eagle, German Orders, Stars and Crosses, and the insignia of the Russian Order of St. George. He thanks the Princes. They all follow him into the *Salle des Glaces*. He takes up his position in front of a portable altar at the centre window, the Princes forming a semicircle round him. The military band plays the hymn, "Now thank we all our God".

The Potsdam garrison chaplain Rogge, Roon's brother-in-law, preaches a sermon against Louis XIV, and speaks of the 18th of January from a very Prussian point of view; even Bismarck is furious at this pastoral eloquence. *Te Deum*. The King proceeds to the platform erected in front of the *Salle de la Guerre*, and summons the ensigns bearing the tattered Colours of the 1st Battalion of the 1st Regiment of Guards, as well as those of three of his Grenadier Regiments; they stand close behind him. He reads a speech to their "Most August Highnesses the Princes and members of the Confederation". "Then", so the Crown Prince says, "Count Bismarck, who looked as black as thunder, came forward and read the speech 'to the German people' in a toneless business-like way, without a sign of enthusiasm or serious feeling. At the words 'Enlarger of the Empire' I noticed a quiver go through those assembled, who were otherwise silent." The Grand Duke of Baden, raising his right hand: "Long live His Majesty the Emperor William". This is a way out of the difficulty after yesterday's scene, Bismarck having again warned the King's son-in-law against the term "Emperor of Germany". Tremendous cheers; the Colours and standards are dipped, *Heil dir im Siegerkranz*. The Crown Prince bends the knee before his father and kisses his hand. The Princes defile past him. William walks

past the Colours to speak to the officers. The *Hohenfriedberg* March. Bismarck is rewarded by displeasure. "His Majesty bore me such a grudge for this course of events that when coming down from the raised dais erected for the Princes, in order to shake hands with the officers standing behind me, he ignored me, standing alone on the open space in front of it, and persisted in this attitude for several days." With his habitual economy he alters the address on an envelope inscribed "To His Imperial Majesty, from the Federal Chancellor", and puts "From His Imperial Majesty to the Imperial Chancellor". That is all.

He describes the events of yesterday and to-day in a letter to Augusta. "I have just come back from the Palace", he tells her, "after completing the Imperial deed! I cannot tell you how depressed I have felt for the last few days, partly on account of the heavy responsibility I must now accept, partly and chiefly on account of the grief it is to me to see the Prussian title supplanted! I was so cross at the end of a conference with Fritz, Bismarck, and Schleinitz yesterday that I was on the point of abdicating and making everything over to Fritz! It was only after earnest prayer that I recovered self-control and strength! God grant that as many hopes and expectations as are desirable may be fulfilled through me! There shall be no lack of honest intention on my part." The ceremony was very dignified, he now says, and gives the details in his old-fashioned eighteenth-century style: "Sentries on the marble staircase (up which the populace forced their way into Marie Antoinette's apartments!!), in the marble court a guard of honour of my 7th Regiment." Fritz of Baden's hurrah echoed again and again. A sigh of relief. "It was a very affecting moment!!"

The Empress has four doubts: with regard to the Reichstag, with regard to Bavaria, with regard to "Saxon susceptibility", which, according to William, "no longer exists". "The fourth, the final victory, which has not yet been won, has nothing to do with German unity, for if we were to meet with reverses in the end, that would never be any obstacle in the way of recreating an Emperor and Empire, which was proposed and has been carried out in the midst of the war, up to the present proclama-

tion." "To His Majesty the Emperor and King", that is the title by which William I is to be addressed in future.

The French army of the north is defeated at St. Quentin by von Goeben on the 19th of January; a *sortie en masse* from Paris fails. It is not until the 21st that the Bavarian Chamber sanctions the establishment of the Empire by 102 to 48 votes. On the 23rd of January Jules Favre comes to see Bismarck, who goes to the Emperor at eleven o'clock at night, and whistles the hunting death-halloo to General Count Lehndorff as he comes out of the Emperor's study. On the 28th the armistice conditions are signed; it does not apply to Bourbaki's army and Garibaldi's volunteers. It is to end on the 21st of February. The German troops hoist black, white, and red flags on the fortifications of Paris. On the 1st of February the southern army is disarmed in Switzerland (after Bourbaki has vainly tried to commit suicide), near the frontier town of Verrières. The National Assembly at Bordeaux elects Thiers head of the executive authority. The Crown Prince's diary of the 12th of February: "The King of Bavaria suddenly feels violent remorse over the conclusion of the treaty and the conclusion of the Emperor and Empire question, so that he not only treats the deputies who voted against it with marked distinction, but has gone into deep mourning, even to his shirt-studs and watch-chain, and complains openly to strangers who are presented to him." William to Augusta about Queen Victoria's Speech from the Throne on the 14th of February: "I have read the Queen's speech, and was very unpleasantly struck by the cordial reference twice made to France, whilst the only mention of the world event in Germany is the simple remark that she has expressed her good wishes, and not a word is said about the victories! I admit that I should have expected her to insist on her Ministers allowing her to say a word about her own so often expressed sympathy for Germany's deeds of valour, sacrifices, and immense success!!!" Capitulation of Belfort, with a view to extension of the armistice. Thiers comes to see Bismarck, who, according to the Crown Prince, is anxious "to be worsted as regards the harsh military demands"! "We are in the throes of trying to achieve peace here", William writes to Alexandrina

but it will be a laborious process, even if our efforts do not prove abortive. Still, I thank God that we have got so far."

On the 26th of February the preliminary Peace of Versailles. "Thiers", the Crown Prince writes, "would not accede to Count Bismarck's request that he should help us to acquire Luxemburg, whereupon the choice was given between Belfort and Metz." "I fear we are already saddled with Metz", the Federal Chancellor says. Alsace. Five milliards. The Crown Prince's diary: "In the course of conversation Bismarck openly admitted to me that his great fear of our military men was what had chiefly made him resolve to cling obstinately to Metz. But besides that His Majesty had spoken as though he would be inclined to carry on the war for the sake of obtaining possession of precisely that fortress, whereas Belfort was not of such importance to us as to necessitate our making further sacrifices." "How God has blessed us during these last seven months!" William writes to Augusta. "I cannot often enough repeat how thankful we must be and how we must praise God for having chosen us and considered us worthy to be the instruments through whom He reveals His will." And to his Imperial Chancellor, now making a great effort to conquer his feelings: "It was impossible for me to go to see you yesterday or to-day, so I take up my pen to congratulate you on the peace preliminaries, which I again owe to your discernment, firmness, and perseverance. When all are thanking you, except France, I take the lead in expressing my thanks herewith, and the highest appreciation of your hard work. If Bordeaux listens to reason, we shall crown what indeed has been a sanguinary but a glorious and splendid work which Providence entrusted to us to achieve; I have it to thank for having given me such counsellors and such an army."

It is agreed that only a small number of troops are to make a formal entry into Paris to illustrate the victory. Thirty thousand men, who are reviewed by the Emperor, march through the Champs Elysées to the Arc de Triomphe (all the windows on the line of route being closely shuttered). Here the officer commanding a Bavarian battalion gives the order to fire with blank cartridge on the hostile populace, who fly in all directions. On the 3rd the Germans march away: the National Assembly has ratified the

peace preliminaries. William himself drives through Paris in an open carriage and pair, without an escort, no one with him but Anton Radziwill and the *jäger* on the box, and is hardly noticed. On the 7th of March he is back at Ferrières; on the 16th at Frankfurt a.M. On the 21st, the day on which the Reichstag opens, he creates Bismarck a Prince. On the 10th of May final peace is concluded between the latter and the French, at the Swan Hotel in Frankfurt.

No order has yet been given for the triumphal entry of the troops into Berlin, as Augusta is on the Rhine and refuses to come back. Bismarck rages. One or other institution must be sacrificed, he declares—marriage or the Kingdom; it is madness to combine them. Towards the middle of May, when the King again hesitates, he says: "The Queen is the sole cause of the difficulties; the whole town is already talking of it and saying that she does not want to interrupt her cure, and is thereby costing the country millions." The entry finally takes place on the 16th of June "in truly grilling heat". The following description is given by Anton von Werner of the preparations, which were in the ornate taste of those days: "The whole line of route from the Halle Gate to the Lustgarten was gaily decorated, the co-operation of the artistic world giving a special character to the decorations. A colossal statue of the Berolina, modelled by Erckmann Encke, greeted the victorious troops at the Halle Gate. A figure of Victory, which had been made for the open space in front of the Potsdam Gate, stood on a pedestal surrounded by guns, with the statues of Metz and Strasbourg, by Begas, flanking it on either side.

"The most gorgeous decorations were those Unter den Linden. In addition to the triumphal arches which spanned the road at the five points where it is intersected by streets, the *façade* of the Academy of Fine Arts was remarkable on account of portraits of the army leaders, painted by Menzel and other leading German artists, having been placed in the windows of the upper storey. Captured French guns had been ranged beneath the trees on either side of the centre alley, and Venetian masts wreathed with garlands and bearing inscriptions on tablets relating to the various branches of the service, composed by Fritz Eggers, were erected

at regular intervals. In the Lustgarten a group representing Germania with Alsace and Lorraine, by the sculptor Albert Wolff, stood near the Schlossbrücke, with Siemering's popular bas-relief on the pedestal, depicting the summons to war and departure of the troops." Prince Albrecht, Prince Charles, and the Crown Prince of Saxony faint from the heat. William sits on horseback for two and a half hours. At the Brandenburg Gate young girls dressed in white, and the Burgomaster. The Hohenzollern Empire begins.

THE EMPEROR

THE EMPEROR is an old man of seventy-four when Bismarck founds the Empire. At his death he will be a Nestor (or a Priam who no longer fears Troy being burned) of ninety-one. Can he carry on the necessary work of history until then? Roon, the one of his Paladins whose mental powers most nearly approach his own, wrote in February: "It is difficult for an old fellow like me to find his way about in the newly built but still incomplete Imperial Theatre, in which the decorations, stage, cues, lights, atmosphere, etc., are all in contradiction to what he has been accustomed to and found tolerable hitherto. For the National and other Liberals are quite right in saying that after the struggles now coming to an end and the victories won, a 'new era', as they call it, of 'Liberal' development must begin, in which the old standards and sayings will be nothing but an historical memory." Roon, who complains of everything being "Germanized at all costs", and of Bismarck, the "rash man at the wheel". The Empire is there, at first only as an ostensible power, and it immediately has enemies, the *Reichsfeinde*: those amongst the *bourgeoisie* who are undisguised enemies, the particularist Catholic democracy—the Centre Party, and the dangerous, still hardly perceptible, proletarian Socialism. Bismarck will endeavour to crush them all by the forcible means at the disposal of the Government. Both are stronger than the man who is to be overthrown by William's grandson and end his days at Friedrichsruhe, reflecting on the abolition of dynasties and the inevitable growth of parliamentarism. His master, whom he survives for a decade, is spared this "irony of fate", as he expresses it. Yet as the *senex imperator's* coffin rolls through the Brandenburg Gate, everyone feels that an epoch is being borne to the grave with this dead man.

The Constitutional rights demanded by the Centre, on the occasion of the debate on the revised Constitution, make the rifts in the structure apparent as early as in April 1871. As far back as in November 1870 at Versailles, the Archbishop of Posen, Ledochowski, had agitated in favour of restoring the Pope's temporal power, the object which mainly inspires the

"ultramontane" opposition. Then a dispute arises, within German Catholicism itself, over the theory of infallibility propounded by the Vatican Council. In the summer of 1871 Bismarck intervenes. In July the Reichstag adjourns, after passing the Bill respecting Alsace-Lorraine, and after Bismarck's speech about the "Imperial Generals", with reference to the dotations. "Was it not possible", he said, "that this great war, the greatest of our age, which had hung over Germany's horizon like a threatening cloud for half a century, might not have found the same resolution, the same courage—the courage to risk Crown, Empire, and life—combined in the case of the monarch who sat on the most powerful German throne?"

On the 8th of July Bismarck abolishes the Catholic section of the Prussian Ministry of Education and Public Worship. This measure is not so much directed against the Church as against the Polish Party. "At that time", he says in his memoirs, not without a hit at Augusta, "the head of the Catholic section was Krätzig, who had been Radziwill's private secretary and probably remained so while in the Government service. The main pillar of the Radziwill influence was the younger of the two brothers, Prince Boguslaw, who was also an influential member of the Berlin municipal Council. The elder brother William and his son Anton were soldiers, too honourable to be drawn into Polish intrigues against the King and his State. The Catholic section, originally instituted to represent the rights of their country in its relations to Rome, through its Catholic Prussians, had become, owing to a change in its members, an authority within the Prussian bureaucracy which represented Roman and Polish interests in opposition to Prussia. I explained to the King more than once that this section was worse than a Papal Nuncio in Berlin." Besides this there is the case of Bishop Krementz of Ermeland, in East Prussia, who dismisses Professor Wollmann, instructor of religion at the Braunsberg Gymnasium, from his post and excommunicates him, because he refuses to accept the doctrine of infallibility. Krementz protests in a pastoral letter against the measures taken by the Minister of Education and Public Worship. That is the prelude to the *Kulturkampf*.

Count Harry Arnim is appointed Minister, afterwards Am-

bassador, in Paris. The German Emperor goes from Ems to Gastein, via Regensburg and Ischl. At Regensburg he meets Ludwig II, at Ischl Francis Joseph. "The meetings on the way here", he writes from Gastein to Alexandrina, "went off very well, and were satisfactory in every respect, although they were not looked forward to with an altogether light heart." And ten days later: "There is no society here; I have not made the acquaintance of a single lady, and the only family I know are the Mühlers, whose circle I do not frequent. There are various fashionable people about, judging by their dress, but one does not know who they are. I end my cure here to-morrow, and go on the 6th to Salzburg, where the Emperor of Austria will receive me again; one sees that it is only *le premier pas qui coûte*." Bismarck is at Salzburg, also the Ministers Beust, Hohenwart, and Andrassy. The Chancellor and Beust, who could not endure one another, have daily chats—a parallel to Baden-Baden, which Beust describes as follows: " 'You see', says Bismarck, 'I was over there once'—pointing to the Emperor William's rooms opposite—'and I got furiously angry. I slammed the door violently; the key remained in my hand. I went to Lehndorff's room and threw the key into the washhand basin, which was smashed to bits. "My God", says the latter, "are you ill?" "I was, but now I am quite well again." ' " First discussions of friendly relations, an alliance.

At a meeting at Fulda all the Prussian bishops declare their solidarity with the Bishop of Ermeland. William, who was at Hohenschwangau and Coblenz, and is now back in Berlin, replies to their address, on the 18th of October, that, conscious as he is of fulfilling the duty that devolves on him as King, of doing justice to everyone, the confidence experience justifies him in feeling in his Catholic subjects will remain unshaken. In December he writes to Alexandrina that the two colds he caught out shooting, and particularly having been unable to spare himself at Hanover, where "I had to attend a big dinner, a theatre and ball, without any voice", had retarded his recovery. Alexandrina (whose niece, Princess Marie of the Netherlands, has married the reigning Prince Wied) is very much upset about the question of civil marriage. "So many people are saying now", she laments, "that emergency and civil marriage is to be introduced; do not

do it, pay no attention to the proposals. Otherwise we shall really be going the same way as the French people went; they and their rulers turned away from God, and then He forsook them. Please hold fast to the Word of God, to the Bible. Do not be tempted to yield by the spirit of the age, which brings such ideas. There is no blessing on it. I was one of those present at a civil marriage of that kind at The Hague, on the occasion of Marie's wedding; it is shocking, for it is purely human, there is nothing divine about it." William carefully defines his attitude "towards these circumstances which are as difficult as they are painful": "I am entirely in sympathy with your views about the unhappy question of civil marriage, if it were to be regarded as obligatory in all cases. Like you, I should look upon that as the first step towards doing away with the sacred and Christian character of marriage, which must eventually do incalculable harm. Civil marriage in individual cases of emergency is another matter, particularly in the case of marriages between Catholics and Protestants, or people of other religions, and in the case of marriage after divorce." He also speaks of the "intolerance of the Catholic clergy".

At Christmas he sends Bismarck a bust of himself in marble, as in this material it may to some extent hand down his feelings for the Chancellor to generations to come: "All the world recognizes the auspicious influence you have had on the change that has come about in the conditions in Europe, I may say in the world, and all the world knows how grateful I hope I have been." At the New Year he writes another "testamentary memorandum", five years after the last. At that time, December 31, 1866, he had believed "that the work God had given him to do was accomplished, and that, carrying it on in peace and quiet, he would some day leave it as a legacy which would bring happiness to his son, foreseeing that it would fall to his lot to unite the southern and northern parts of Germany into a whole". May God's grace now "continue to help him to build up and consolidate the newly united Germany, of which the foundation has just been laid".

Domestic policy is not peaceful in any respect in the year 1872. On the 17th of January Mühler is dismissed. "A difference with

Carl Stauffer, Bern, The Emperor William

regard to a personal question concerning the management of the museums is turned to account", Bismarck says, "to conceal the true reason for his dismissal. In reality it had to do with Krätzig and the Polish Party, in spite of the backing he and his wife had at Court, through feminine influence." His successor is Falk, a Liberal, who had held various official appointments. William, who does not feel Bismarck's recommendation sufficient, makes inquiries about Falk from Roon. Bismarck himself is in a bad temper. "We require four Prime Ministers for His Majesty", he writes, "when I find my influence waning, as regards colleagues, Parliament and Foreign Affairs." The Conservatives, who defend the monarchy and the "Christian character of the State" in an article in the *Kreuzzeitung*, are up in arms against him, as well as the Centre Party. Falk introduces the School Inspection Bill into the Diet. A Court of Assizes at Leipzig finds Bebel and Liebknecht guilty "of acts whereby highly treasonable preparations have been made to change the Constitution of the Kingdom of Saxony and the Constitution of the North German Confederation by force". The Socialist Reichstag deputies are sentenced to two years' imprisonment. William thanks the Bishop of Ermeland for having made pious reference to his birthday in sacred precincts, and asks him to join with him "in praying God Almighty graciously so to guide the hearts of his people that the agitation which fills so many minds may be peacefully adjusted to the common good of the Church and the Fatherland". Notwithstanding this, Krementz takes part in the resistance to one of Falk's decrees.

In April a fresh Reichstag session; Bismarck reads the Address from the Throne. The Emperor hurts himself again by slipping in getting out of his carriage. In the course of this month he intervenes in the management of the theatre, having seen the ballet *Militaria* at the opera, in which scenes from the Franco-Prussian War are depicted. He objects to a French officer being shot by a German officer with a revolver, and writes to von Hülsen, the Superintendent, that he did not notice whether the Frenchman was killed or only wounded. Anyhow, he does not think it desirable that tragedy should be introduced into a burlesque, and therefore he wishes him only to be wounded and

carried behind the scenes as quickly as possible. He also objects to the impersonation of a parson by an actor, on the ground that the clergyman's gown is out of keeping with a burlesque, and gives detailed instructions as to changes to be made in the German uniform worn on the stage, so that there may be no question of existing branches of the service being represented by actors instead of by genuine soldiers; for instance, the Uhlan uniform may be worn, but the facings must be covered with red cloth.

A letter is sent to Charles of Rumania on the same day, in which two sentences refer to the Jewish question in the East, and the Rumanian pogrom: "It is very hard to be sometimes obliged to side with a race of people such as I well know them to be, from my experience of the Russian Poles. If the Jews are not so much to blame, in the opinion of your own Government, for the recent events, as was at first believed, of course it is right that mercy should be shown, and it is to be regretted, on the other hand, that riots and persecution of the Jews were not reprimanded soon enough or sufficiently severely."

In May Pius IX objects to the appointment of Cardinal Hohenlohe as German Minister at the Vatican. Bismarck's Reichstag speech in which he says: "We are not going to Canossa!" In June the exceptional law against the Jesuits. The miners in Westphalia and the workmen in the machine-shops in Berlin strike; they have to give in. The Crown Prince at Berchtesgaden; Ludwig II takes no notice of him. The Emperor writes twice in person to Bismarck, for the Chancellor took no part in the debate on the Jesuit law. He wishes to resign and has gone to Varzin to recruit. The Emperor urges him to put aside everything that requires immediate decision: "Remember what important matters we have to deal with next winter, of which I need only mention the Church questions of both denominations. You must accumulate fresh strength and great strength for all that. Therefore the Fatherland and I insist on your resting while there is yet time; you must never forget what you are to us!" He then congratulates Bismarck on his silver wedding, sending him a present of a vase, "fragile though it may be", from a "grateful Borussia". Gratitude is expressed to God for having given him such a helper at a critical time, and thereby opened up a career

to his Government "which is far beyond all imagination and comprehension".

In August Gastein. He writes to Alexandrina about the proposed meeting between the three Emperors, William, Alexander and Francis Joseph, a renewal for the brother and sister of the alliance of 1813: "I could well imagine that you would not fail to come to Berlin, in view of the historical event that is to take place. It was a very happy thought of Sascha's. This interview may lead to permanent peace, if we three show that we agree. This place is very full, many fashionably dressed people, but we don't know one another. I only know Lady Buchanan and a Count Esterhazy with his wife; he, almost a dwarf, was at the Legation in Berlin thirty years ago." Death of Abeken; and his King laments the loss of this "clear-sighted, able, faithful public servant, who combined so much kindly feeling and heart with great mental abilities". He still limps, cannot go to Ischl, and returns direct to Berlin, just before the "tiring Imperial time". There is a Prussian reason for the meeting, the autumn manœuvres near the capital. Bismarck is there and confers with Gortchakoff and Andrassy. Nothing is agreed upon in writing. Eleven people are crushed to death at a tattoo on the open space in front of the Castle on the evening of September the 4th.

Krementz is still giving trouble. He has asked whether the King will receive a loyal address from the Ermeland clergy on the occasion of the lay celebration at Magdeburg of the union of West Prussia with the Hohenzollern monarchy. William makes it a condition that the Bishop should first state his willingness to obey all the laws of the State. Krementz replies that he recognizes the authority of the State in temporal but not in Church matters. He does not come to Magdeburg. Falk punishes him by decreeing the sequestration of his living—his means of support. Bebel is sentenced to nine months' imprisonment and the loss of his seat in the Reichstag, for *lèse-majesté*.

In October the Emperor is at Baden-Baden. A fresh crisis: opposition of the *Herrenhaus* to the District Organization Bill, which is only feebly supported by Eulenburg. Bismarck is at Varzin. Von Selchow, the Minister of Agriculture, and Roon, want to resign on party grounds. Roon has long been dissatisfied.

The Diet is adjourned. It is expected that a fresh batch of peers will be created. William, who is pained by the "spiteful behaviour" of the nobility towards the Crown, is lost without Bismarck's "daily, nay hourly advice", and does not quite know what to do. "The District Laws", he writes to him, "must be passed, that is essential for the welfare of the country and dignity of the Crown. Is this possible, in the present parliamentary conditions, without exerting strong influence on the *Herrenhaus*? No! That is the difficulty in which we are placed. But it cannot be solved without mature and thorough examination and consideration before taking a step so decisive that it must either ensure the whole existence of the State for long years to come—or shatter it!! I cannot give it the necessary consideration in a hurry. For that your presence is absolutely necessary, as was generally recognized at the Cabinet meeting yesterday." Bismarck remains at Varzin. He replies that he is nervous and exhausted.

As the batch of peers to be created includes twenty-four members of the *Herrenhaus*, Roon sends in his resignation on the 2nd of December. The King refuses to accept it, but gives him leave of absence. He is to save himself for the German military campaign: "You possess my full confidence now as ever, and this, I think, will tide you over many difficulties." The District Organization Bill is carried in the *Herrenhaus*, but only by a majority of twenty-four even now. Roon persists in his request. William again tells him that he cannot spare him from the Reichstag: "The fact that your whole life has been devoted to the welfare and honour of the army has become so clear to all the world that this reputation has won you a confidence and esteem which no new-comer taking your place could have. Everything is at stake, without the weight you throw into the scale!"

Bismarck is still in close touch with Roon, in spite of their political differences. "At my age", he writes to him on the 13th of December, "and believing that I have not much longer to live, there is something in the loss of all one's old friends that is disheartening, as far as this world is concerned. As the rider in the saddle, the King probably hardly knows that he has ridden a good horse to death in me, or how he has done it." He does not

intend to be Prussian Prime Minister any longer, he will only be the Imperial Chancellor and Foreign Minister, "reserving diplomacy" to himself. He informs his master of this at the palace in Berlin on the 14th of December. The Roon crisis has become a Bismarck crisis. Roon withdraws his resignation and takes over the Premiership temporarily. On the 20th William accepts Bismarck's resignation as Prime Minister. On Christmas Eve the Emperor sends him a facsimile of Rauch's statue of Frederick the Great. "My will is greater than my power to work", Bismarck protests in his letter of thanks, "but it will be at Your Majesty's service to my last breath." Bismarck himself chose Roon as his successor in the Prussian Premiership, the King writes to his brother-in-law at Weimar, on the 30th of December. On New Year's Day he bestows the insignia of the Order of the Black Eagle in brilliants on the Chancellor.

In January 1873 the captured French flags are quietly removed to the garrison church at Potsdam; religious service, review in the Lustgarten, buffet-lunch in the *Marmorsaal*, cheers for the army. The grey-haired preacher Sydow is dismissed by the Consistory Court because he holds rationalist views with regard to the birth of Christ, and sentenced to disciplinary fare; later on the dismissal is cancelled by the Supreme Church Council and he is sharply rebuked. Falk has submitted the drafts of four Bills to the Prussian Diet: concerning means of punishing and controlling the clergy, secession from the Church, the appointment of clergy, and setting up a State Court of Justice for ecclesiastical affairs. The Government threatens to seize the Centre Party newspapers for having published the Pope's Christmas allocution; the last German Secretary of Legation at the Vatican has left Rome. Selchow, the Prussian Minister of Agriculture, resigns. Address from the Bishops to the Emperor-King.

Great scandal caused by Lasker's revelations in the Chamber of Deputies of fraudulent dealings in the matter of railway concessions, in which Prince Putbus, Prince Biron, and other men of high standing are said to have taken part, as well as the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Count Itzenplitz. Writing to his brother-in-law at Weimar about the Church laws and "this unpleasant episode", William says that it may be regarded as an

outcome of the disgusting anxiety to grow rich which is a sad result of the great political success of the new era, and in so far the affair is perhaps a good thing. In itself it must be taken seriously and dealt with impartially, and therefore he is setting up a Royal Commission of inquiry: "A few must suffer, whilst thousands do worse things in secret!" It is to be a Royal, not a Parliamentary Commission, he tells Roon, the Prime Minister, for it would not do for a Committee of the Chamber of Deputies to inquire into the actions of Crown officials. "Itzenplitz has been to see Bismarck, who told him just what I said yesterday, that his resignation now would seem like pleading guilty; he must, on the contrary, press for an inquiry himself."

The Church laws relate to Articles 15 and 18 of the Prussian Constitution. Even the *Herrenhaus* decides to alter them. Bismarck: "In the Empire of this world, the State is entitled to priority and precedence." Count zur Lippe, the former reactionary Minister of Justice: "I fear that in making this change in the Constitution we are paving the way to revolution." Bismarck makes his great speech on Royalty and priest-rule, his notice to the Conservatives. Augusta admonishes her brother to uphold his Church with a firm hand, "for a nation without religion must perish". William: "I cannot tell you how much these questions in our Church worry me! I was so glad that Sydow was sentenced by the Consistory. Now he appeals to the Supreme Church Council. In the meantime the matter must remain in suspense, and the worst of it is that, pending a decision, Sydow must be restored to his office, according to the law!! Everyone would blame me, if I agreed to that, for it would look like tacitly acquitting Sydow! I have already held conferences on this account, and everyone has been against me except Hoffmann (the preacher at the Cathedral). I am in absolute despair." Itzenplitz is given leave of absence and is eventually succeeded by Dr. Achenbach, who acts as his deputy.

From the 28th of April to the 8th of May William is on a visit to the Tsar in St. Petersburg, with Bismarck, gratified and touched. "The Emperor", he telegraphs to Alexandrina, "received me at Gatschina, most cordially as usual. A real triumphal progress here. On entering Charlotte's rooms, which I occupy, I felt very

sad, also yesterday when I visited the Fortress Church, where I deposited wreaths, and prayed for you who still survive. I have just come from the grand *sortie*, and inspecting the guard. It has been warm to-day, with sunshine and no wind; the Neva is beginning to break up. The singing in church wonderful; everything brings back the old days and all those who have passed away." Two great dinners at the Winter Palace, balls. Commenting on the ladies, the Tsarevna, Princess Dagmar of Denmark, and the Grand Duchess Alexandra, an Oldenburg Princess, William says: "The Tsarevna is much prettier than I thought; she has beautiful eyes, a slight, graceful figure, and is exquisitely dressed, without being too gorgeous, altogether a charming vision. The Grand Duchess Nicholas has gone to pieces; she has a bad complexion, but is not as badly dressed as people say: perhaps she has pulled herself together." The Tsar looked after his health "like a nurse", William writes to Charles Alexander. The Grand Duke is going to Vienna. The Emperor begs him to keep up the *entente cordiale* in his interest: "There are no further mental reservations, at least not on my side or that of my Government. The only thing that still troubles me is the dalliance with Galicia and Rome; a little *ménagement* is natural in the latter, but not in the former case!"

The Pope encourages the Bishop of Ermeland, sends him a ring with precious stones, and commends him to the protection of the Blessed Virgin who bruised the head of the serpent. The Church laws, known as the May laws, are sanctioned by the King. Proceedings taken against the Archbishop of Cologne, who publishes excommunications in Latin. The Bishop of Paderborn is refractory. Archbishop Ledochowski's private Polish schools for religious instruction are closed. The Duke of Ratibor, a Hohenlohe, hands the King an address from loyal Schleswig Catholics at Babelsberg. William thanks them for the effort to reach an amicable understanding. He is not well enough to go to Vienna for the International Exhibition in June. Augusta goes to stay with Francis Joseph instead of him, and replies like the head of a State at the State dinner: "Your Majesty knows how deeply the Emperor regrets not being able to be here. Your Majesty also knows that I am honoured with the task

of apologizing for his absence." Friendship to the point of cordiality.

Dissensions between Bismarck and Roon, and between Bismarck and William. The former caused by the "Roon conventicles", the evening parties arranged by the War Minister and the Prime Minister at which the Conservatives meet, the latter by Count Harry Arnim, who also frequents Roon's house when he is in Berlin. "Every intriguer has his ear", Bismarck wrote to Roon in December about William and Arnim. He hates the ambitious, careless *poseur*, who gave him away once at lunch, having promptly got drunk: "I regard that leading man in the profession as a personal enemy, and treat him accordingly, but as long as he is my chief, he must not see that." Arnim, who has many admirers ("He has the makings of a capital *Junker*!" is the compliment paid him by Roon), flatters the Emperor in private letters by speaking of him as the doyen monarch, and asks him to protect the French Legitimists. William does not conceal these letters from the Chancellor, but they do harm. The Emperor is at Ems and Gastein, Bismarck at Varzin. William complains to Alexandrina that the Ems waters do him good, but irritate his nerves. The Tsar and Tsarina pay him a visit. Alexander does not mention his daughter's marriage, her engagement to the Duke of Edinburgh. "The Grand Duchess will suffer a good deal from the religion, but more still from England's variable policy, which is never very friendly to Russia."

In August the Social Democratic Labour Party Congress at Eisenach. The Berlin Conference of orthodox Lutherans, who are supported by the reactionary *Fronde* in the *Herrenhaus*; the former Prime Minister, Manteuffel, is also present. Column of Victory on the Königsplatz. Pius IX has written to the Emperor about the May laws, as though they had been passed without his consent. Letter from the Emperor to the Pope, of September the 3rd: "I am fain to hope that, on learning the true state of affairs, Your Holiness will exert your influence to put an end to the agitation which has been carried on with regrettable perversion of the truth and abuse of the esteem in which the clergy are held. The religion of Jesus Christ has, as I can assure Your Holiness before God, nothing to do with these machinations, nor has Truth,

the banner to which Your Holiness appeals, and to which I whole-heartedly subscribe." The Pope had said that everyone who had been baptized belonged to him. The Emperor's letter protests: his evangelical faith only acknowledged one mediator, Jesus Christ.

France has paid the five milliards in full; the German occupation troops evacuate Verdun and therewith French territory. Victor Emmanuel announces that he is coming to Berlin, and Bismarck sends word that he will come back from Varzin. As William is not clear "whether this is only a blind after our agreement, or whether you have changed your mind", he tells Bismarck how he intends to act: "If Your Excellency should speak of a possible alliance against France, I should take refuge behind my principle of only concluding alliances *ad hoc*. With regard to the clerical position, my view of the consistency of what has been begun is so strong that I am armed, and should probably not find him absolutely of a different opinion, although he is in a difficult position." La Marmora has just published a *brochure* entitled *A little more Light on the Events of 1866*, with documentary evidence of Bismarck's secret negotiations with Napoleon. William's position is that this is "ancient history". The Chancellor is really coming a day before Victor Emmanuel. The Royal guest's toast: "*Je bois à la santé de S. M. l'empereur d'Allemagne, mon ami et mon ancien allié.*" Bismarck refuses a snuffbox set with brilliants which he is offered. The Emperor thinks that Bismarck does not intend to accept any more presents, and regards this as "a change in the traditions to which he had been accustomed". Afterwards he says: "You were right; do not accept the box". Victor Emmanuel gives his photograph.

From the 17th to the 23rd of October a visit to Francis Joseph in Vienna. Bismarck goes with him. Schönbrunn. He is delighted with the people and things in general, William writes to Weimar, "so there is peace in every direction". Death of King John of Saxony. He is succeeded by the Crown Prince as King Albert I. The Emperor is taken ill. "No strength or appetite", he telegraphs to Schwerin on the 1st of November, the anniversary of Charlotte's death. "I have just got up. I did indeed think a great deal about this sad day in the solitude of my bed." Sleeplessness, "a head

like fire". Sciatica in his right leg. Impossible to do any business. Nevertheless a fresh Ministerial crisis has to be solved. Roon now resigns, also as War Minister, in which post he is succeeded by General von Kameke. Bismarck becomes Prime Minister again, with Camphausen, the Minister of Finance, as his deputy. "As God will!" Bismarck writes to Roon. "I shall find the vacant place on your sofa in the yellow sitting-room empty, and shall think: I had a comrade." Letter from the King: "Rest assured that I shall ever retain a grateful and honoured memory of the War Minister, who proved his worth in times that were often difficult and stirring!" Roon goes to Italy. Ledochowski is removed from his office. On the 10th of December Falk submits to the Chamber of Deputies the proposal to make civil marriage obligatory.

William's health only improves slowly towards the beginning of 1874. He ventures to hope "that he may be able to resume all his activities, even if he has to be careful". He feels on the anniversary of the death of Frederick William IV, whose widow had also passed away in December, that he is commemorating a "terribly responsible" day. "What have I not had to live through in these thirteen years", he writes to Alexandrina, "and what things and world historical events have taken place, which dear Fritz regarded as his life-work, the union of Germany, without having been able to accomplish it, whilst I, who never pursued that aim, have had to attain it *sans le vouloir*!! This shows clearly how things and human beings are chosen in heaven!" He had often thought, during this illness, that he "would be going another way! and now, God's will be done!" A second letter of thanks to Roon, who is at Sorrento: "You look back on the posts you have filled and your undeserved rewards with such ultra diffidence, that I should almost like to scold you for not leaving it to me to measure the extent of your services and rewards!" He speaks of the bliss Roon is enjoying at Sorrento, and says: "You give me a tempting hint, but how can I pay any attention to it, when we have to face a Reichstag battle in the Chamber!"

Elections to the Reichstag on the 10th of January: a National Liberal and Progressive Party majority, but the Centre Party also increases its numbers. Bismarck is accused of treason by a Centre

speaker in the Chamber of Deputies, with reference to La Marmora's indiscretions. Bismarck calls that an impudent lie, and says he is "the best-hated personality" from the Garonne to the Vistula, from the Belt to the Tiber, and on the Oder and Rhine. The House passes the Bill making civil marriage obligatory on the 23rd of January. On the 29th, William, who has recovered, receives the Head of the Brandenburg Provincial Synod. Speaking to him about Sydow, he says: "Efforts have been made, particularly in the capital, to deny the divinity of Christ. We know by experience what that leads to."

On the 3rd of February Ledochowski is arrested and imprisoned at Ostrowo to expiate his omission to pay the fine imposed by the Court. Throne Speech in the Reichstag. Draft of a Bill "to regulate the strength and capacity of the German army." Entry of the deputies from Alsace-Lorraine, where clerical partisans, protestors, and five French sympathizers have been elected, the dictatorship having ceased since the 1st of January. Moltke's speech: "What we have won in half a year by armed force we must defend for half a century by armed force, so that it may not be taken away from us again." The Bill making civil marriage obligatory passes the *Herrenhaus*. The Emperor thanks English Protestants for manifestations of sympathy at meetings in St. James's Hall and Exeter Hall; in a letter to Lord John Russell he says: "It is my duty to lead my people in a struggle which former German Emperors have already had to carry on with varying success for centuries past, against a Power whose rule has never been compatible with the welfare and peace of the people in any country in the world, and whose victory in our day would imperil the blessings of the Reformation, freedom of conscience and the authority of the law, not in Germany alone." The greater number of the Alsace-Lorraine members absent themselves, after the rejection of a proposal for a *plébiscite*, brought forward by Teutsch, only twenty-three votes having been given in favour of it.

The report that Harry Arnim is to be relieved of his post as Ambassador in Paris is confirmed; he is to be succeeded by Prince Chlodwig Hohenlohe. The Bishop of Trèves and the Archbishop of Cologne are arrested. Conflict over the Imperial

Army Bill; the Chancellor is seriously ill. The War Minister states that the Bill is inacceptable unless the peace figure for the Federal Governments is fixed. William's birthday. He makes a speech to the Generals at the Palace. He had hoped to be able to leave the military organization to his successor as a legally and actually accomplished fact, a legacy, as it were, from father to son, an Imperial force to defend the Empire and nation against internal and external enemies. The difficulties now being made were clouding the evening of his life. The Imperial Chancellor also censures the National Liberals and threatens to resign: "I cannot sacrifice my European reputation. I shall ask leave to resign. Perhaps someone else may be found who will be able to secure a majority, a reliable majority, in this Reichstag."

On the 20th of April acceptance of the compromise proposed by Bennigsen, which fixes the peace strength for seven years, to the 31st of December 1881. This is the septennate, to which the Government also consents. The Emperor still has to spare himself. He goes to a ball, and writes to Alexandrina that he enjoyed himself very much, as it was the first time he had gone to any society function outside his own house. He tells Roon of the difficult time he has gone through: "I think as you do about the marriage law, but I could not prevent its being passed, as even Bismarck decided in favour of it, although I wrote twice against it, in spite of my illness, and suggested its being optional, in vain!" With regard to the "second catastrophe", in connection with the Army Bill, he says: "I agreed to the septennate with a heavy heart! But indeed seven years in our day is almost half a century, when one remembers the seven years from 1863 to 1870! So we may consider that we have an efficient army organization for seven years, and after seven years we shall perhaps have another war before or already behind us."

The Arnim scandal comes out. Bismarck's rival was to have gone as Ambassador to Constantinople. While still in Paris, he abstracts sixty documents from the archives of the Embassy, and publishes "diplomatic revelations" in the Vienna Press, whose authorship he denies on oath when interrogated by the Emperor. He is placed on the retired list. Ledochowski is dispossessed of his office by the State Court of Justice. The Reichstag

passes the Bill respecting the internment and banishment of refractory clergy. The Social Democrat, Most, is sentenced to a year and a half's imprisonment. Houses of members of the General Union of Working Men are searched. In January the Emperor is at Ems, where he is welcomed by the King of Holland, William III, who thinks there may be other ways of making money besides a bargain over Luxemburg, and has been absolutely hostile to the German Empire hitherto.

In July Bismarck goes to take the waters at Kissingen. Ludwig II has sent State carriages there for his use. A cooper's journeyman, by name Kullmann, fires at him, on account of the May laws, and grazes the knuckles of his right hand. Bismarck, who interviews him in his cell, declares that he spoke of the Centre as "his *Fraktion*". Ovation from the public at the watering-place. William had been staying with Francis Joseph at Ischl, and is now at Gastein. On receiving a telegram from Munich, he writes to condole: "Hardly am I reassured with regard to your health when this attempt comes to show me—and everyone—clearly, how much depends on your life. But although we must deeply regret the shock to you and yours, we ought at the same time to recognize the Divine dispensation, namely, what you are to the Prussian and German Fatherland, indeed to the world, and how much is still required and expected of you! Every Christian knows that our lives are in God's hand, but you and I have seen it plainly, for it was only from above that the murderous hand aimed at us was turned aside! So, comforted by this and trusting in God, we will go on through life and do our work as long as it shall please Him!" Kullmann is sentenced to fourteen years' imprisonment with hard labour. Police reprisals against the Catholic associations. The suffragan Bishop of Posen is marched off to prison, the Bishop of Paderborn arrested. The General Union of German Working Men is broken up.

In October William and Augusta are at Baden-Baden. Harry Arnim is arrested on his property near Berlin and imprisoned in the Berlin town prison. The High Court of Appeal and Supreme Tribunal refuse his request to be released. It is afterwards granted on condition that he does not leave the country. The Archbishop of Cologne is set free after six months and nine days' imprison-

ment. The mother of Ludwig II, the widowed Queen Marie, a Prussian, becomes a Catholic in her old age. William laments what he speaks of as her "disastrous step". "Everything shows", he writes, still in the forefront of the *Kulturkampf*, "that she was gradually ensnared by the blackcoats! She will soon realize what advantage will be taken of her to carry on intrigues." On the 12th of November Harry Arnim is again arrested. Proceedings before the Berlin Municipal Court. The Emperor is shooting at Ohlau in Schleswig; dinner given by the Diet, torchlight procession, Men's Choral Society. On the 4th of December Bismarck flies out at the Centre Party in the Reichstag, accusing them of being responsible for Kullmann. Count Ballestrem's "Shame!" Arrest of Majunke, an editor who is a Reichstag deputy and member of the Centre Party, whom even Lasker opposes. The majority—composed of the Left Wing of the National Liberals, the Progressive and Centre Parties—insists on an authoritative announcement that Reichstag deputies are not to be arrested during the session. Bismarck applies to the Emperor for permission to resign, as it is evident that there is not a majority in the Reichstag on which he can rely, and which would only act in agreement with him. A vote of confidence proposed by Bennigsen, when Windhorst proposes that the funds at the disposal of the Foreign Office be refused, is carried by 199 to 71 Centre, Polish and Socialist votes. Bismarck withdraws his resignation.

On the 19th of December Harry Arnim is sentenced to three months' imprisonment. Both he and the Crown Prosecutor, who had proposed two and a half years, appeal. "We have reason to be satisfied with our Reichstag on the whole", William writes to Charles Alexander, "as the Ministerial crisis episode speedily took a turn for the better, as though by a miracle. The arrogance of the Centre Party, temporarily intoxicated by being in the majority, ended in its thorough discomfiture. The Arnim *horreur* has absolutely condemned him in the eyes of the public, in spite of the minimum sentence! They see what even a man of so much intelligence may be led into by vanity and ambition!"

In January 1875 the State Court of Justice deprives the Bishop of Paderborn of his office. He escapes from the country, like the Prince Bishop of Breslau, who takes refuge in Austria, and a

warrant is issued for his arrest. The third reading of the Imperial Civil Marriage Bill is passed. Very much against the will of the Emperor, who still cannot reconcile himself to it, and can hardly endure Falk's Radical Liberalism in this matter. As lately as on the 29th of December he wrote to Bismarck: "When the Minister thanked me for the decoration, I remarked that it seemed to me essential to insert provisions in the Civil Marriage Bill to be submitted to the Reichstag which are lacking in the Prussian law—an omission which has led to declarations being made, and, in spite of them, to the most disastrous consequences, namely, that in many cases baptism is not demanded; and it is the same with marriage in church." That is a "lax view of what is sacred". "In short, it seems to me that Falk has not taken the matter I have so much at heart too seriously." Bismarck is to take care "that the errors which have crept in are done away with by being clearly defined".

At the end of January William receives the Head of the Brandenburg Provincial Synod, to whom he repeats this, recalling Sydow's case again: "These are errors which must be refuted. Therefore I have decided that paragraph 79 is to be inserted in the Civil Marriage Bill." On the 5th of February the Pope's Encyclical to the Prussian Bishops, which declares all the ecclesiastical laws invalid, and pronounces sentence of excommunication on all clergy officiating without the consent of the Bishops. The Emperor has abdominal rheumatism a week after Shrove Tuesday. The culminating point of the carnival, he writes to Alexandrina, was a fancy ball given by "Fritz and Vicky"; a pageant at the Court of the Medici was "classically beautiful". "The figures in the German and Slav quadrilles were danced in minuet style, quietly, on account of the heavy material worn by the ladies, whilst the Italian quadrille degenerated into a tarantelle, very lively and charming. *Enfin le tout était magnifique.*"

Last phase of the *Kulturkampf*: the Prussian law concerning administration of the property of Catholic communities, and suspension of State grants to the Catholic Church, the "blockade or short commons law". Stormy sittings. Bismarck against Windhorst. Arrest of the Bishop of Münster. A personal

petition presented to the King by the Prussian Archbishops and Bishops, begging him not to sanction the blockade law, is rejected by the Ministry. A Bill is introduced against convents and monasteries, although the Emperor goes to Wiesbaden in April without sanctioning it; modifications and alterations are afterwards made, particularly as regards the Order of Sisters of Charity. Bismarck, however, leaves Falk in the lurch in the *Herrenhaus* against attacks from the orthodox Evangelicals. Count Udo Stolberg and Freiherr von Maltzahn, who disapprove of the Pope's Encyclical, side with the Government, from "the Conservative standpoint", and Bismarck makes the remarkable statement: "We lacked belief in the Gospel. I thank the last speaker for having expressed it so eloquently, it has given me the greatest pleasure, and it is a bridge which enables me to resume the old relations with the Conservative Party which it gave me great pain to sever."

Domestic anxieties are superseded by others: the fear of war. The *Kölnische Zeitung* publishes an official article which is falsely dated from Vienna. It speaks of the French army being hurriedly increased by the new cadre law, of a plan to reconcile the Pope with Italy, a Catholic league between the Vatican, the France of President MacMahon, Italy and Austria, which it is true would only be possible after the fall of Andrassy. "Is war in sight?" the *Berlin Post* asks, also officially. The Emperor's visit to Italy is postponed several times, as the doctors are against it. Europe is feverishly excited. In Paris Prince Hohenlohe calls on the Foreign Minister, the Duc Decazes, and warns him of the consequences of continuing the French military preparations. *The Times* accuses the German military party of wishing to weaken France still further. Russia must be shown the necessity of putting an end, for a long time to come, if not for ever, to the dissensions which give the whole world cause for anxiety. What is going on behind the scenes? The German General Staff, Moltke, is aiming at a "preventive" war, remembering Belfort. Bismarck intends to resign (so he says), and he alarms the Emperor by sending in his resignation again. William, "much overcome", begs him not to let his having done so be known; the copyist of the letter must be bound by oath to secrecy, "for we have had only too much

Plockhorst. The Empress Augusta

experience of broken secrecy." Suggestions have been made to Queen Victoria by Count Münster, the Ambassador in London, in the direction desired by Moltke.

Gortchakoff, to whom Gontaut-Biron, MacMahon's Ambassador in Berlin, has gone, sounds Herr von Radowitz, the German Minister in Athens, who has been sent to St. Petersburg *en mission extraordinaire*, intrigues and intervenes. On the 6th of May the Russian Ambassador, Count Schuvaloff, comes to Berlin, is received by the Emperor and Empress, dines alone with them, and has conferences with Bismarck. After that the Tsar is in Berlin from the 10th to the 13th of May, on his way to Ems, accompanied by Gortchakoff. Peace is assured, he tells the Diplomatic Corps before leaving. Gortchakoff gives the same assurance in a telegraphic circular: "*Maintenant la paix est assurée.*" Bismarck says in his memoirs: "I found great fault with Prince Gortchakoff, and said that to attack a trusting and unsuspecting friend suddenly and perfidiously, in order to provide a circus performance at his expense, was not at all friendly, and that proceedings of that kind between responsible Ministers were injurious to both monarchs and States. If he was anxious to stand well in Paris, there was no need for him to spoil our relations with Russia on that account. I should be very glad to back him up, and have five-franc pieces coined in Berlin with the inscription '*Gortchakoff protège la France*'. We could also install a theatre in the German Embassy, where he would be presented to French Society in Bengal fire as a guardian angel clad in white with wings. My bitter remarks made him look rather foolish." The Tsar, smoking and laughing, told Bismarck not to take Gortchakoff's "senile vanity" too seriously. The peace of Europe is saved by Russian absolutism.

The followers of Lassalle and the Bebel-Liebknecht group combine at Gotha to form the German Socialist Labour Party. The Emperor gives the Chancellor indefinite leave of absence. He goes to Ems, where the Tsar is staying, and where the Archduke Albrecht pays him a visit. From there he writes to Charles Alexander: "Bismarck is really very much preoccupied with his health and his nerves, he is on leave of absence on that account, and is not going to transact any business. I don't know how long

he himself will endure that existence, but I am certain that he will return strengthened in his positions. He knows and feels himself that while he lives he cannot be replaced, and after that his post will indeed be filled, but he will never be replaced!" With reference to the Archduke Albrecht, he says: "We have touched on all the questions of importance, except 1866, so we parted from one another very well satisfied; *la glace était déjà rompue à Vienne.*" Riots amongst the Catholic townspeople of Rheine in Westphalia. A second verdict of the Berlin Court sentences Count Arnim to nine months' imprisonment, of which one has already been served.

The German Emperor goes to see the Emperor Francis Joseph at Ischl on his way to Ems. There is some animation at Ems for the first time for eight years, owing to the Lehndorffs, Eulenburgs, Dönhoffs, and a Fräulein von Below being there. "Yesterday" (to Alexandrina) "I gave the whole of that East Prussian lot a dinner picnic." Correspondence with Bismarck about Queen Victoria's knowledge of the war rumours. The Emperor has written to the Queen that it had hurt him to have been regarded by her as the "European peace-breaker". The Queen had replied that not only Moltke, but others about him, had openly expressed themselves in favour of war with France. Bismarck takes advantage of this to speak spitefully about the relations between Coblenz and Windsor: "It would have been interesting if Her Majesty had given more particulars. The exalted lady must have considered the sources of her information very reliable, otherwise Her Majesty surely would not quote them again."

On the 14th of August William is at Babelsberg, then he goes to Detmold for the dedication of the monument in the Teutoburg Forest, to Weimar for the unveiling of the statue of Charles Augustus, to the manœuvres in Schleswig, a review of the fleet at Warnemünde, and to Baden-Baden in October. Prince Henry VII of Reuss, the Ambassador in Russia, cannot continue to hold the post, as he has married the Tsar's niece, Charles Alexander's daughter, and the Tsar does not consider the position suitable to her rank. General von Schweinitz is proposed as his successor. The Emperor now pays the King of Italy a return visit with Moltke and without Bismarck. The Prussian Supreme Court

rejects Count Arnim's plea of nullity. On the occasion of the unveiling of the statue erected in memory of Freiherr von Stern on the Dönhoffplatz in Berlin, William, who is indisposed, writes to thank Moltke, and gives the Field-Marshal the Grand Cross of the Order of Hohenzollern with Star and Swords. "It has pleased Providence always to surround Prussia's Kings at critical times with men who knew the right thing to do both in the field and in the domestic life of the country!"

On the 27th of October Bismarck is still absent from the Reichstag session in Berlin. The majority has almost decided to vote against the new taxation proposals and the supplementary penal law. It is believed that Bismarck is preparing a gradual transition to Protection, that he intends to split the National Liberal Party and form a Right majority out of its Right Wing and the Conservatives. Harry Arnim has escaped to Switzerland, where he publishes his pamphlet *Pro Nihilo* against Bismarck. He is charged with high treason by the High Court of Justice. Bismarck comes back on the 20th of November, and has conferences with Gortchakoff, who has been in Switzerland, and with the Austrian Ambassador, and speaks against Lasker in the Reichstag. He hopes that the debate will be carried on without dissension.

The year 1876 opens with the meeting of the provincial Diets of Brandenburg, Pomerania, Schleswig, Saxony, and Prussia, elected in accordance with the new provincial organization, the four first with Conservative majorities. Bismarck is contemplating an Imperial railway system; this is his final economic programme prior to the reversion to Protection, but it is opposed by the Governments of the secondary States and the Prussian Progressive Party. A compromise is again reached between Bismarck and the National Liberals over the supplementary Penal Law and the "Arnim clauses", which are of importance to him. The Socialist amendment is rejected, although he supports it. The minority which rejects the whole Bill consists of the Progressive and Centre Parties, the Poles and Social Democrats. Notwithstanding this, the Chancellor's speech on the third reading is chiefly directed against the *Kreuzzeitung* and its "most disgraceful, lying and dishonourable aspersions" on men in high positions. The

articles referred to are by a Herr Perrot, who has accused the Prince of having interest in discreditable concerns, in other words, of corruption, just as Arnim writes about Bismarck and Bleichröder. The lion's roar is answered in the *Kreuzzeitung* by forty-six Conservatives, amongst whom are some of Bismarck's oldest friends. They declare themselves against him, and he does not forgive them for this. A Conservative Agrarian Party is formed, later on a "German Conservative" Party. The Emperor maintains silence during these months. He refuses Arnim's petition for pardon. Bismarck is promoted to the rank of a Cavalry General on the 22nd of March.

In April his colleague Delbrück, a firm supporter of Free Trade, resigns. The Bill by which Prussia transfers her State railways to the Empire is passed by 216 to 160 votes, and afterwards by the *Herrenhaus*. William meets the Tsar again at Ems this summer. The latter is believed by many to be in bad health and tired of autocracy; and William also refers to the events in Turkey in a letter to Alexandrina, the Palace revolution against Abdul Aziz and his murder: "I found the Tsar not looking as well as when he was in Berlin; altogether his condition cannot be satisfactory or reassuring to anyone. The Turkish doings are very edifying! The deposition and murder of the Sultan are a frightful revelation of the state of affairs there, and who knows whether we have seen the last of these horrors!" Balkan complications. Rising against Turkey in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Serbia, relying on Russian help, and Montenegro, declare war on the Porte. The Emperor and Bismarck, who is taking the waters at Kissingen, meet at Würzburg for a conference on this Eastern question. After that, when he is at Gastein, he puts an economic question to the Chancellor, for he too is already taken with the idea of Protection. The iron industry is in a bad way; furnaces blown and unemployment, although, as Delbrück and Camphausen have told him, exports still exceed imports. "Iron is now to be imported into Germany free of all duty, whilst France is going to charge a premium on her iron exportation to Germany! Such destructive rates can only result in the ruin of what still remains of our iron industry! I am not asking that the much-lauded system of Free Trade should be abandoned, but I must

request that the question be ventilated again before the Reichstag meets. If you agree with me, I shall look forward to receiving your report and hearing what you propose."

In August the Bayreuth Opera House is opened. William knows nothing about Wagner's music, which is quite new to him, but he considers it his duty to attend a performance of the *Ring* on his way back to Berlin from Gastein on the 13th. The King of Bavaria, the melancholy patron, only arrives after him. Cavalry manœuvres at Züllichau, manœuvres at Leipzig and Merseburg. The Eastern question becomes more acute. With a view to dissuading Alexander II from carrying out his Balkan policy, which is influenced by the Pan-Serbs, William sends Field-Marshal von Manteuffel on a special mission to him at Warsaw. Manteuffel reports to him and to Bismarck at Varzin. Received by the King of Würtemberg at Stuttgart, the Emperor tells the members of the aristocracy presented to him that peace is assured (much what Gortchakoff had said in his above-mentioned telegram). They must remember how difficult it had been made for the Tsar to give this fresh proof of his love of peace, but the principle to guide the policy of the Great Powers now seemed to be found. This was as late as in September. Then he goes to manœuvres in Alsace. On the return journey he witnesses the Suabian National fête at Cannstadt. The High Court of Justice sentences Harry Arnim to five years' imprisonment with the loss of his honorary privileges, for high treason, insulting the Emperor and Bismarck—Stilicho and Pipin.

On the 26th of October Bismarck sends General von Schweinitz to see the Tsar in Livadia, where Lord Augustus Loftus, the English Ambassador, has already arrived. The Speech from the Throne in the Reichstag—which the Emperor, to his regret, is unable to read himself, as he has a cold—makes no mention of the danger of war in the East. And war is menaced not only between Russia and the Turkey of Abdul Hamid, but also between Russia and Austria-Hungary, on account of the Balkans, although Alexander II and Francis Joseph, Gortchakoff and Andrassy, had negotiated secretly, at Reichstadt in Bohemia, over the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Habsburg monarchy. It was only Bismarck's statement that Germany could

not allow one of her friends to be seriously injured which caused "the Russian storm to pass over from East Galicia to the Balkans", and led to the Russo-Austrian January convention. On the 30th of October, after the Serbian defeat, General Ignatiev, the "Father of Lies", hands a Russian ultimatum to the Porte. The Tsar assures Lord Augustus Loftus, on his word of honour, that he is not contemplating conquests, and mobilizes six Army Corps, forming part of the Army of the South. Disraeli's (the English Prime Minister's) diatribe at the Lord Mayor's banquet in London. Lord Salisbury, the Minister for India, is England's representative at a Conference of the Powers held in Constantinople on the 23rd of December. During this period the Emperor does not mention politics in his letters. "A thousand thanks", he writes to his brother-in-law in November, from Pless, "I am quite well; and you?"

On the 1st of January 1877 William's seventieth military anniversary, on which occasion his son is the speaker. The Constantinople Conference has no result; the Powers recall their delegates. In February the Emperor's grandson receives his commission in the army; the ceremony takes place at the Palace in Berlin, not at Potsdam, as William is ill. Turkey: deportation of the Grand Vizier Midhat Pasha, the author of the Constitution, to the island of Metelin. Opening of the newly elected Reichstag. Lasker speaks in the Chamber of Deputies in favour of ending the *Kulturkampf*, in opposition to Falk and Virchow.

Bismarck intervenes in the debate on the second reading of the 1877 budget, and in doing so makes provocative reference to his differences with the Minister of Marine, von Stosch, who is an intimate friend of the Crown Prince. Stosch puts his resignation in the Emperor's hands, and wants a written apology from Bismarck; the Chancellor refuses to give it, and speaks very airily of the conflict at a soirée. The Emperor sides both with Bismarck and Stosch. On the 22nd of March his eightieth birthday. On the 1st of April another letter from Bismarck proposing to resign, on the ground that his powers are no longer equal to the immense burden. "Am I to make a laughing-stock of myself in my old age?" William asks him. "It would be disloyal of you to forsake me." He crushes up the Chancellor's letter into a ball.

Bismarck is again given indefinite leave of absence. He stays first at Friedrichsruhe, then at Varzin. "But helpers I must have", William complains to Roon, "and at such a time my chief collaborator wanted to leave me!! You will have sympathized with what I felt, for you have already been a witness of two such shocks, and on one occasion you sacrificed yourself! Well, the mountain has brought forth a mouse, and—things are as they were, as I said to Bismarck from the first." The Tsar decrees mobilization of the whole Russian army on the 13th of April. William is at Wiesbaden on the 22nd. Letter to Alexandrina: "We are awaiting the very grave advices from Kishnev, which will probably announce war. The Emperor cannot, in my opinion, do otherwise than go to war, *pour sauver l'honneur de nous tous*, although we five Great Powers quietly pocketed the two Turkish rebuffs, i.e. the two refusals of the proposals made by the Conference and now by the Protocol" (the London Protocol).

On the 24th war begins between Russia and Turkey. In his speech in the Reichstag on the Army estimates, Moltke speaks of the "necessity" for sooner or later taking steps to counterbalance the "gigantic" French preparations for war. In May William is in Alsace-Lorraine. On his return to Berlin he informs the Grand Duke of Weimar that his son-in-law, Prince Septi, Henry VII of Reuss, is acceptable to the Tsar and the Porte as Envoy Extraordinary in Constantinople, as Germany will observe "benevolent neutrality" towards Russia and represent the Russian subjects. In a speech to German pilgrims Pius IX calls the Emperor (or the Chancellor) Attila and a "fresh scourge sent by God".

In June Bismarck is at Kissingen, where he learns through official channels that the former Under-Secretary, von Grüner, has been given an appointment in the House Ministry, and that Schleinitz is going to publish the appointment in the *Reichs und Staatsanzeiger*. He writes to protest against this, taking a hit at the same time at Augusta's chamberlain, Count Nesselrode, and Nathusius-Ludom. He points out that to confer distinctions on them and on Herr von Grüner just at a time when the public were talking of the slanders against him (Bismarck) published by the *Reichsglocke*, and their connection with the newspaper had

become well known, was a mark of Royal good will towards people who were only notorious for their hostility to him and their public insult to his honour, which ought to be protected by the King, so long as he remained in His Majesty's service. "Were I to receive the reverse of this protection, I should have a far stronger personal reason for resigning than any consideration for my health could ever be." Grüner's appointment is not published. In return the King pesters him (in spite of being very sorry to have to trouble you again) about the "absolutely poisonous fruits" of Sydow's teaching, the case of Hossbach, who has been appointed pastor of the Jacobi Church in Berlin, after announcing in his probationary sermon that he regarded Jesus as a very good man, but not as the Son of God. Then a second fact which "horrifies" him, Rohde's proposal in the Berlin-Köln Synod to discontinue reading out the Apostolic creed. He urges his suspension from office: "If things go on like this, added to the increasing neglect of baptism and the marriage service, it must necessarily encourage irreligion, and then it is only a step from denying the Divinity of Christ to doing away with God, the same as in France!" William twice asks the Court Chaplain, Dr. Kögel, when Hegel, the President of the Brandenburg Consistory, is going to take steps against Hossbach. Hegel, a resolute opponent of Falk, resigns his post. The resignation is sanctioned by Bismarck, but William refuses to accept it. He writes to Hegel: "I cannot dismiss officials whose strict adherence to the creed is well known, without bewildering the minds of my people." Before going to Ems he sends for the Ministry, and expresses his anxiety with regard to the subversive aims in the clerical and social sphere. The Socialist Congress summoned to meet in Berlin is prohibited by order of the police in July.

Bennigsen is staying with Bismarck at Varzin. Eulenburg is physically bankrupt, varies, as his Chief says, between maudlin weakness and artificial excitement, with a sort of thirst for popularity in his old age which had been quite foreign to him in earlier days, and was not unmixed with jealousy of him (Bismarck) although they were old friends. On discussing the question of a successor to him with Bennigsen, Bismarck finds that the latter, a

National Liberal, would like to have other Liberals to work with him in the Ministry; he names Forckenbeck and Stauffenberg. The sanguinary and fruitless storming of Plevna, Osman Pasha's stronghold. Turkish victories in Armenia. Austria-Hungary decides to mobilize four divisions, in case of need. On the 8th of August William meets Francis Joseph at Ischl. Bismarck goes to Gastein. William writes to Roon from Babelsberg: "The meeting with the Emperor of Austria was very interesting just now, and we agreed on all points, even as to the possibility of its being necessary to make a military demonstration, but never against Russia, and always directed towards maintenance of the Three Emperors' *Entente*." The next day, after referring to the schismatic tendency, he says: "You judge me only too correctly when you suppose that I am much affected by the reverses the Russian army has sustained, and that my heart aches for the Emperor! But the operations since crossing the Danube are incomprehensible to me. I share your hope that the Russians will be victorious in the end, but the Turks must be smitten with blindness if they quietly allow the enemy's enormous reinforcements to arrive. May they be blind enough for that, however!" Equally to Charles Alexander: "The course of war makes my heart ache! I cannot think of the Emperor without the greatest sympathy and grief, that he, who really did so much to perfect his army, should have to suffer these reverses!" To Alexandrina: "It is as though an evil fate pursued the Russians!" But after that there is the defence of the Shipka Pass against Suleiman Pasha. Prince Charles of Rumania is appointed Commander-in-Chief before Plevna.

In September William is on the Rhine, and tells Evangelical clergy that the Apostolic creed is the basis of religion; "otherwise we are on the road to perdition". He lays the foundation-stone of the National Memorial on the Niederwald. From Carlsruhe to the Grand Duke of Weimar: "Splendid reception here with the familiar bouquet bombardment and consequent risk to one's eyes. All well." Prince Bismarck leaves Gastein and sees Andrassy at Salzburg. Crispi, the President of the Italian Chamber, is in Berlin. The Imperial Chancellor goes back to Varzin. Eulenburg resigns. The Emperor gives him six months' leave of absence.

On the 1st of December the Prussian Chamber of Deputies discusses the educational grant. Falk says, in reply to Windhorst, that the Government want peace, but not in the form desired by the Centre Party. Eugen Richter, the Progressive member for Hagen, proposes an inquiry into the expenditure of the Guelph fund. The Chancellor crisis is again acute. In the theatre of war the capitulation of Plevna on the 10th of December. William receives a telegram from the Tsar at the tea-table, which, he tells Charles Alexander, "touches me inexpressibly".

On the 30th of December, when Bennigsen was staying with Bismarck again, Eulenburg comes to see the Emperor, and says: "Has Your Majesty already heard about the new Ministry? Bennigsen!" A very irate letter from William to Bismarck, who has not told him a word about it: "The newspapers go so far as to say that you had summoned Bennigsen to Varzin to talk over this radical change with him, and that he was to be given the Home Ministry. I was so struck by this that I really begin to think there must be something of the kind on foot of which I know nothing! Count Eulenburg, who was here yesterday, would not believe me when I assured him that I knew nothing about it. I must therefore ask you to tell me what really is going on. As far as Bennigsen is concerned, I should not feel I could welcome his inclusion in the Ministry with any confidence, for although he may be very capable, he would not be able to carry on my Government in the quiet and Conservative way which you yourself most definitely promised me you would do!" The "Conservative" way: this is an admission that the Emperor William is the same as he was as King of Prussia after the Liberal era.

The after-effects of the friction with Bismarck are still apparent in January 1878. "I was unwell and worn out", Bismarck says, "and the purport of the Emperor's letter and Eulenburg's attack affected me to such an extent that I was taken rather seriously ill again." He does not reply to the Emperor personally, but lets him know through the Secretary of State, von Bülow, that he had, it was true, sounded Bennigsen, but had not come to the conclusion that he could propose his being given a Ministerial appointment; therefore he repeated his request to be allowed to

resign. William begs him not to think of making any further answer: "I was only uneasy about the appointment of Bennigsen." The European situation is very uncertain, although William telegraphed on the 1st of January to his brother-in-law at Weimar that there seemed to be "a slight breath of peace in the air, as regards politics". To Bismarck on the 2nd: "The burning political question of war or peace rests entirely with England; but I fear that Queen Victoria's inclination for war, and that of her Jewish Prime Minister, who encourages her in it, will lead to its prolongation and then to far greater complications for Europe than those which have hitherto been localized." The Jewish Prime Minister is Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfield.

On the 14th England's Note to Russia, stating that she will not allow Turkey to be broken up and a separate peace concluded between Russia and the Porte. The Russian Generals Skobeliev and Radecki capture the Turkish Shipka army. Death of Victor Emmanuel. The Emperor sends the Crown Prince to Humbert, the new King. He has an enthusiastic reception in Rome, and appears on the balcony of the Quirinal with the Prince of Naples in his arms. Von Bülow reports the following scene to the Chancellor on the 25th of January: "When the Crown Prince came to see the Emperor on his return, the Empress had also come down (from her rooms). When the conversation took a turn that did not please her, as regards King Humbert's position, and then came to a standstill, she got up, remarking, '*Il paraît que je suis de trop ici*', and the Emperor then said quite sadly to the Crown Prince, 'Your mother is quite unreasonable again about these matters just now.' " For Augusta was said to have made a great point of her son paying the Pope a visit when he was going to Rome.

The Christian-Socialist Court preacher, Stöcker, holds a public meeting in Berlin; tumult caused by a speech from the Social Democrat, Most, against the clergy; the meeting closed by the police. The Turks have evacuated Adrianople. The English House of Commons votes six million for military preparations. Peace preliminaries at Adrianople between Russia and the Porte.

Death of Pius IX. The English fleet enters the Dardanelles to protect Constantinople. On the 14th of February Bismarck is

in Berlin. A proposal with regard to a duty on iron is submitted to the Federal Council by his wish, and he speaks in the Reichstag on the 19th. He announces a forthcoming European Congress in Berlin in March, at which Germany will be the "honest broker"; "I will never take the responsibility of sacrificing the certain friendship of a great and powerful neighbour nation, which has stood the test of a generation, to the satisfaction of playing the part of arbiter in Europe." The Prince of Wales comes to Berlin, to indicate to the Emperor, on behalf of the Queen, the moment when England will no longer be able to escape the necessity of going to war with Russia.

Cardinal Pecci, elected Pope by the conclave, calls himself Leo XIII. He notifies the Emperor of his election, and makes an effort to put an end to the *Kulturkampf*. "You are quite right", William writes to Alexandrina, "in thinking that I am not exactly pleased at the Congress taking place in Berlin, as there will be many awkward conversations; but as there was such a strong wish that Bismarck should be present at it, and he could not leave Berlin while the Reichstag is sitting, Russia's proposal, to which all the States agreed, could not be rejected. It will be hard work, however, for although people's minds are somewhat relieved for the moment, a spark is sufficient to explode the mines! England is alone to blame for all the trouble." A final conference between Bismarck and Bennigsen breaks down. The Reichstag agrees to the proposal to appoint a deputy to represent Bismarck. Camphausen's resignation. England strengthens her army. Lord Napier of Magdala is appointed Commander-in-Chief, Wolseley Chief of the General Staff of the Expeditionary Force against Russia.

On the 3rd of March the Peace of San Stefano is concluded between Ignatiev and the Porte, which is most humiliating to Turkey. The joint Austro-Hungarian Government asks the Delegations for a credit of sixty million crowns, as it "must protect European rights in the Eastern question with Europe, its own on its own responsibility". On the 12th of March a letter from William to the faithful Roon: "When you wrote to me, Plevna had just fallen; the Russians were gaining one victory after another, were at the gates of Constantinople, and were con-

cluding a peace which in itself brings them in very little to compensate for the untold expenditure of life, blood, and cost of every kind, and who knows what more may not be extracted from them in Armenia and on the Danube at the Congress? That this Congress is to be held in Berlin in order to make it possible for Bismarck to be present, is a great compliment to Germany, and particularly to Prussia, but it will give me personally many an unpleasant hour, for the part I have to play is that of arbiter, and therefore I can please no one." Then as regards domestic policy: "The Prince and Eulenburg regret their attack of Liberalism, and see how difficult it is to draw back one's little finger. I have found that myself in the course of time! The question of the reigning Princes being represented has been satisfactorily settled; it was so simple in itself, as what had always existed was fixed by law on this being demanded! One soon saw how advantage was going to be taken of the simplicity of what was proposed, to deal with other matters—by the sloping path of Liberalism." He hopes that the "so-called *Kultur* question" will improve, thanks to the new Pope. He is as indignant as ever with the freethinking Protestant preachers: "I have been corresponding with the Supreme Church Council for the last five months, but can get no farther, for I cannot rouse enough courage in any quarter to deal severely with this, and so everything is going from bad to worse." He is also indignant with the Social Democrats: "When one knows the steps taken against Stöcker, which were due to that man Most, one shudders to think that our legislation cannot punish a thing of that kind. This denial of God goes hand in hand with Social Democracy, and thus we have arrived in time of peace where the French Revolution arrived during the Terror. We must trust God. He alone ordains the end." A friendly letter from Leo XIII to William. Achenbach, the Prussian Minister for Trade and Commerce, resigns. Ignatiev is in Vienna. Lord Derby, the Foreign Minister, resigns, as he does not approve of calling up the English reserves. He is succeeded by Salisbury.

Lord Salisbury loses no time in sending a circular Note to the Powers against the Peace of San Stefano. William writes to Charles Alexander on the 3rd of April regarding the intensified

friction between Austria and Russia: "Austria's requirements are so exorbitant that Russia might reasonably reply by annexing the whole of Bulgaria, for Francis Joseph demands annexation of the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Scutari and Novibazar, and wishes the extension of Montenegro towards the north-east to be curtailed, and Southern Bulgaria reduced to half its present size, so that Serbia would be half surrounded by Austria, in return for which she would agree to Bessarabia being restored to Russia! When one can demand such incorporation without firing a shot, I don't know why England does not imitate the example, and annex Egypt, Crete, etc., without bloodshed! Unless secret Reichstadt agreements are at the bottom of the Austrian demands one can hardly understand such pretensions! Russia, who after her victories and the sacrifices she has made, does not take a single village in Europe from Turkey for herself, and only asks for the Dobrudsha for Rumania in exchange for Bessarabia, really does not seem to be suffering in any way from a mania for aggrandizement." The Grand Duke must not breathe a word about it to anyone. The National Liberals declare themselves unanimously against the Bismarck Tobacco Monopoly.

On the 3rd of May William informs his brother-in-law that he will send Prince Reuss as Ambassador to Vienna. The Tsarina has written to the Grand Duke: "We are living in difficult times and look round in vain for political friends, for I can only give that name to those who will really stand by us at the critical moment, if only morally, *en mettant dans le balance tout le poids de leur influence politique*." She complains of Bismarck, who has long since decided in favour of Austria; that had been no surprise to her and the Tsar. The Emperor replies to his brother-in-law that, as a neutral, Germany must be independent in every direction. "Austria", he remarks, "is playing a questionable part at the moment, and should the Three Emperors' *Entente* (I do not say alliance, for nothing exists in writing) break down, then a European war is inevitable! But Germany must maintain her neutrality as long as is possible consistently with honour. For I am more than certain that *en temps et lieu* France will aim at Alsace and Lorraine and Austria at Schleswig (and more?)." On

the 7th of May Russia gives in to England through the instrumentality of her Ambassador in London, Count Schuvaloff, who goes to St. Petersburg.

On the 11th of May Hödel's attempt to assassinate William.

The attempt is made about half-past three in the afternoon, Unter den Linden. The Emperor (who had dismissed the head of the Supreme Church Council, Hermann, a week earlier, and, also acting on the advice of Field-Marshal Manteuffel, appointed Hermes, an orthodox Churchman) is driving in an open carriage with his daughter Louise, the Grand Duchess of Baden. Hödel fires a shot from a six-chambered revolver from behind a cab, and only hits the vehicle. He fires a second time, and escapes through the railings to the centre alley. The Emperor drives a few steps farther, and then pulls up to watch the pursuit of the assassin. "Were those shots fired at me?" is all he says. And afterwards in the Palace: "Shots have been fired Unter den Linden—I believe at me." Hödel fires a third and fourth time. A civilian, by name Dittmann, seizes hold of him. The Emperor's *jäger* attendant tears his coat open and pulls out his papers. A workman who is said to have excused the deed is arrested with him.

When brought up for trial it appears that the man is a plumber's employee from Leipzig, where his mother lives. Cards of membership of the Society for the Protection of the Berlin Working-class Interests and of the Christian Socialist Party are found on him, but also photographs of Bebel and Liebknecht. He says that he does not belong to any political party, is penniless and had intended to shoot himself, "to call attention to the existing conditions". "There is nothing left for the poor to do but commit suicide, unless they wish to starve." He had applied to Stöcker for work and hoped to get it, but in vain. He hated the Socialists because they made fine promises but did not keep them. It is ascertained that he is wanted by the public prosecutor at Naumburg on a charge of *lèse majesté* and forging documents, and has been sentenced to flogging for theft at Leipzig. Amongst other details published by the Leipzig *Vorwärts*, it states that Hödel, or Lehmann, had been expelled from the Socialist Party there

four weeks earlier, and had always been regarded with suspicion by his fellow-Socialists on account of his eccentric behaviour. He is placed in solitary confinement, fastened to the wall of his cell by foot shackles, and handcuffed.

Twenty minutes after the attack upon him the Emperor receives von Bülow to report on the Eastern question. In the evening he appears in his box at the opera during the first act of the *Nozze di Figaro*. The orchestra plays *Heil dir im Siegerkrantz*. The same when he afterwards appears at the theatre during the third act of the *Secret Agent*, which is being given by "most gracious command". The Crown Prince and the Grand Duchess Louise accompany him to the theatre. On the 14th he returns thanks through Bismarck for these demonstrations against the "act of a man who had strayed into the wrong path—an act apparently directed against his life, which had so long been protected by God's gracious dispensation". The Chancellor, who is at Varzin, where Count Botho Eulenburg is on a visit to him, loses no time in taking advantage of the attempted murder to bring forward a Bill in the Federal Council to guard against the "Socialist outrages". The Conservatives, and also Moltke, support it in the Reichstag; Bennigsen, Lasker, Windhorst and Richter oppose it. It is rejected. On this occasion Bennigsen remarks that the Ministerial crisis in Prussia is permanent. Falk's position is shaken (he has sent in his resignation without informing Bismarck of his intention). Before the Reichstag decision is reached, William writes to Roon that he had very seriously warned the Ministers to "recognize more clearly than hitherto where Press licence and the meetings of the revolutionary party, as well as of the freethinkers, which continued to be carried on unpunished, were leading". Falk is given a fortnight's leave. Schuvaloff returns to London from his mission to St. Petersburg. The agreement between England and Russia with regard to modifying the Peace of San Stefano is on the whole successfully concluded. England guarantees Turkey's possession of Asia Minor, Syria, and Mesopotamia in a secret treaty, and stipulates that she herself is to occupy Cyprus. The German ironclad *Grosser Kurfürst* goes down off Folkestone.

On the 2nd of June the Imperial Government invites the

Powers and the Porte to a Congress in Berlin, over which Bismarck will preside. The day fixed is a Sunday, and the Emperor is again fired at Unter den Linden in the afternoon, this time from the second floor of No. 18, occupied by Dr. Nobiling, an assistant in the Dresden Statistical Bureau, who has been in Berlin since October. The Emperor is wounded in the back and right arm, with which he was saluting. His forehead is grazed, eighteen grains of shot having penetrated his helmet. In the night he has an attack of sickness and shivering. Nobiling makes two attempts to shoot himself. An officer wrenches the weapon out of his hand, and the prisoner is taken off to the Molkenmarkt. His mother is the wife of a Major von Gauvain, and his uncle and two of his brothers are officers in the army. When interrogated he says that he was not paid to shoot the Emperor, but admits that it was a plot, that they drew lots, and it had fallen to his lot to carry out the deed. He refuses to give the names of his fellow-conspirators. These admissions are afterwards denied and said to have been suggested to a man who was only half-conscious of what was being said to him. The premises of the Berlin *Freie Presse* are searched, and also the houses of Most and other members of the Social Democratic Party, but no trace is found of any connection with Nobiling. It is a pathological case, but the Social Democrats will have to suffer for it. Bismarck, who hurries back to Berlin from Friedrichsruhe, is determined as to that, and also to dissolve the Reichstag. He suspects a desire to "replace him by a Gladstone Cabinet"; he is conscious of the "general wish to fill his place, the anxiety to rule jointly with him". And that is why he fights.

The Emperor, exhausted by loss of blood, says to the Ministers: "Gentlemen, go to my son now. You know exactly what I wish and expect done, and I insist upon the government of the country continuing to be carried on in accordance with my views, and everything remaining as it is, and hold you responsible for this." On the 4th the Crown Prince is appointed to act as deputy for the Emperor and King, not as Regent. On the 5th he presides over a Cabinet meeting at which Bismarck is present. "Half my colleagues", Bismarck says, "or more—anyhow, the majority of the Ministers and of the Council—voted against the dissolution

in opposition to my vote. It appeared that an understanding had already been reached as to the distribution of my inheritance." The Crown Prince cannot do otherwise than stand by Bismarck. On the 11th the dissolution takes place through the medium of the Federal Council. Austria-Hungary begins to mobilize. On the 13th the Berlin Congress in the Imperial Chancellor's house, presided over by Bismarck himself, who has shingles and is nervous. It reduces the size of the Russian Greater Bulgaria, the southern part being left to Turkey as East Rumelia. On the 28th it gives Austria-Hungary a mandate to occupy and administer Bosnia and Herzegovina. On the 5th of July decision reached with regard to Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania. On the 10th Ernest Augustus of Hanover writes from Gmünden to the King of Prussia to announce the death (in Paris) of his father, George V, and his own titles to the throne. He calls himself Duke of Cumberland and Duke of Brunswick and Lauenburg. England occupies Cyprus. On the 13th the Treaty of Berlin, which Alexander II will not forgive the German Empire and Bismarck, the "broker", for he considers that, as Gortchakoff whispers to him, it diminishes Russia's prestige.

The Chancellor arrives at Kissingen for the baths. On the 29th of July Count Alfred Waldersee, now Chief of the Staff of the X Army Corps in Hanover, where Frederick William has come, writes: "The Crown Prince makes an excellent impression everywhere. He told us a good deal about the Emperor, who has gone to Teplitz to-day and is really going on very well, only his right arm is still almost useless. He is determined to take over the management of affairs again, however, when he comes back from Teplitz and Gastein. The old man's vitality is wonderful. The Crown Prince spoke very seriously about the Duke of Cumberland and the foolish letters of protest. Queen Victoria seems to be offended. We make no reply." The Austro-Hungarian army is now assembled to march on Bosnia under Philippovitch. On the 30th elections to the German Reichstag. The Conservatives increase their numbers from 78 to 110. Progressives and National Liberals are reduced in number.

On the 16th Hödel is executed, as the Crown Prince has ratified the death sentence. On the 18th Bismarck is at Gastein.

The Austrians take Sarajevo on Francis Joseph's birthday, after Philippovitch has sustained a defeat. On the 9th of September the Reichstag meets. Count Stolberg reads the Emperor's speech for Bismarck. Nobiling dies in prison. William, who is convalescent, goes from Gastein to Cassel to witness the manœuvres. Bismarck returns to Berlin. The Emperor telegraphs from Wilhelmshöhe to Charles Alexander that he has had a very good journey and slept well; the day after his arrival had been lovely and the wonderful fountains played. He had just successfully made a first attempt to ride, so he would be able to take part in the review on horseback. Augusta follows him in a carriage drawn by six horses. Telegram to Alexandrina: "I am profoundly grateful to God for having enabled me to recover sufficiently to appear before my beloved troops again to-day, although still a semi-invalid. I was much affected. I am more upset by the dinner than by the review, which was very fine." He goes to Baden-Baden.

The Reichstag Committee, to which the Socialist Bill is referred, rejects the amendments proposed by Lasker. Bismarck's speech on the occasion of its second reading in the House: "If you are more afraid of me and the application of the law, more afraid of Governments than of Social Democrats, then I know what to do: I must make room for persons in whom you have more confidence." The Bill passes the third reading, a compromise having been reached between the Conservatives and National Liberals. Bismarck gives notice of a comprehensive tariff revision, and entrusts it to the Federal Council. That is the coming policy of the Empire. On the 6th of November William writes a letter of thanks to the Chancellor from Coblenz, sending him the Crown, Sceptre and Sword of the Grand Cross of the Order of the Red Eagle, as insignia of Prussia's might: "It has fallen to your lot, within three months, partly to restore, partly to maintain peace for Europe, thanks to your good judgment, far-sightedness and courage, and by constitutional means to withstand an enemy in Germany which menaced all public conditions with ruin. When all well-disposed people have recognized and shown you their appreciation of both these historical events, it is fitting that I should now publicly express this appreciation of

the determination with which you have defended the legal standpoint. The object of the law I have in mind, and which owes its origin to an event I have taken very much to heart, is to uphold and safeguard the present legal standpoint of the German States, and consequently of Prussia too. The sword speaks for the courage and discernment you show in defending my crown and sceptre."

On the 5th of December he is back in Berlin. There are to be no public festivities to celebrate his return, "as on the occasion of the entry of the troops after the war", but "of course I cannot forbid anyone to decorate his house who wishes to do so". At the station he says that his feelings are mixed. "Great as was the physical suffering I had to bear, it was not so painful as the wound to my heart caused by the fact that this trial was imposed upon me in my own capital and by a Prussian." He is patriarchal as ever, yet it is in his name that what he commended to the Ministers as "the strong hand of the law" is now set in motion, the most senseless, pernicious police procedure against Socialism. He also thanks the Crown Prince for having acted for him; signing himself "Your Imperial and Royal Highness's affectionate father William". His words to the Berlin authorities are full of genuine humility. Beginning by expressing a fear that the religious education "in our town" was not what it might be, he says: "When I was saved, I took it as a warning to ask myself whether I had so ordered my life and done my duty as to be worth saving."

He is human in the memorandum he writes this Christmas Eve: "The physical pain was as nothing compared with my grief that natives of Prussia should have done what it was doubly difficult for me to get over at the close of my life, and casts a shadow over the rest of my days. I must bow to the will of God, however, who permitted all this, but whose grace and mercy at the same time enabled me to fulfil the duties of my position." He thanks Augusta and his daughter and all the members of the family. "Human beings have wished to overlook my weaknesses and faults, but may He who knows them be some day a merciful judge where I have disregarded the teaching and injunctions of the only-begotten Son of the Heavenly Father."

In January 1879 Falk defends himself in the Chamber of

Deputies against the charge of his policy having failed to provide education in the National Schools with a religious basis. In France MacMahon resigns. Berlin is put under martial law. The Brunswick Diet pronounces against the Duke of Cumberland's succession to the throne so long as he refuses to recognize the Imperial Constitution. He has married Princess Thyra of Denmark, and thus become brother-in-law to the Tsarevitch Alexander and the Prince of Wales. On the 22nd of February William goes straight across from his Palace Unter den Linden to the Hôtel de Rome, where Roon is staying. He sits down in a low arm-chair beside the bed, so that the two old men's heads are close together. William, whose right arm is still in a sling, takes it out and points upwards. "We shall see one another again there!" He turns round slowly, takes another look back, and says: "Remember me to all the old comrades! They are many!" In the next room he presses his handkerchief to his eyes and sobs. "Since yesterday", he writes to Charles Alexander, "we have been very anxious about Field-Marshal von Roon, who came here for a few days, and seemed unusually well; he is seriously ill with inflammation of the lungs and is hanging between life and death. I went to see him yesterday evening; he is quite conscious, so he knew me directly, but his voice was very weak! I lose a most faithful and judicious servant in him, and a true friend!" Roon dies on the 23rd, and the King of Prussia condoles with the widow: he deplores the loss not only of an excellent statesman in every respect, but of the friend and man.

In March Bismarck's organ, the *Grenzboten*, argues against Gortchakoff and the anti-German St. Petersburg newspaper *Golos*. The present Russian provocations are sufficient proof that Russia had demanded more of Germany than was consistent with her own German interests. William complains in a letter to Bismarck that in three matters the Reichstag has shown a tendency "to change its parliamentary legislative and voting power into parliamentary government". It had readmitted the Social Democrat deputies who had been turned out, refused Bismarck's demand for increased power to deal severely with members of the Reichstag, and demanded that the documents relating to the

Grosser Kurfürst disaster should be laid before it: "It consequently sets itself up as judge above the Imperial and Royal exclusive right to command! If this is overlooked, it will create a precedent the consequences of which any child can see." It must be met with the most determined opposition. In April Soloviev's attempt to assassinate the Tsar. William's sister telegraphs to him: "The Emperor Alexander is uninjured. A man fired five shots at him from a revolver when he was out walking early this morning, but without hitting him, thank God! The man has been arrested." On the 9th of May Bismarck's Reichstag speech in the general debate on the new customs duties. He has negotiated in the meantime with Bennigsen and the Centre Party. There is a majority of at least seventeen in favour of Protection, without the Liberals. The proposal to put a protective duty on iron is carried by 218 to 88 votes. The Tsar receives the Hessian Prince Alexander of Battenberg in Livadia, and sanctions his election to the throne of Bulgaria. Forckenbeck resigns the Presidency of the Reichstag, and is succeeded by von Seydewitz, a German Conservative, thanks to an alliance between the Centre Party and the Conservatives. Count Schuvaloff, the Russian Ambassador in London, who advocates a Russo-German alliance, is recalled. Eugénie's son Loulou, Prince Louis Napoleon, meets his death at the hands of Zulus.

On the 11th of June William and Augusta celebrate their golden wedding. The Tsar excuses himself and sends the Grand Duke Alexis. Service in the Castle chapel. It is not to last too long, in order not to overtire the Emperor and Empress. Afterwards "great reception of deputations from the Diets and Corporations as well as of the upper classes". About eight hundred pardons are granted, but none to Catholic clergy sentenced during the *Kulturkampf*. On the 20th of July William congratulates Bismarck on the Tariff Reform victory in the Reichstag: "You ventured to attack a wasps' nest, and I supported you from conviction, although with some anxiety as to whether the first attempt would succeed. A similar change in public opinion has probably seldom been brought about in such a short time, so one sees that, after stupendous work and exertions, you hit the right nail on the head, and although it crumbled a little at the first

blow, still the majority of 160 is a triumph which will sweeten many an hour of your hard preliminary toil and struggle. The country will bless you for it, although the Opposition will not!" Falk, who has resigned, is succeeded by the reactionary Conservative, von Puttkamer, who immediately closes the Elbinger undenominational school.

As early as towards the middle of June there are diplomatic rumours of a Russo-French *rapprochement*. On the 16th Bismarck goes to Kissingen and thence to Gastein. The Bishop of Paderborn dies in exile in Belgium. The Emperor appoints Field-Marshal von Manteuffel Governor of Alsace-Lorraine. Francis Joseph pays him a visit at Gastein. On the 11th of August William pardons the grandson of Augusta's old nurse, Admiral Batsch, whom the Grand Duke has taken under his protection at Weimar, and who was sentenced to six months' imprisonment on account of the disaster to the *Grosser Kurfürst*. On the 12th the Emperor leaves Gastein. Andrassy is there with Bismarck on the 28th. He discusses the question of an alliance between Germany and Austria with him.

This is the historical event which seals the fate of the Hohenzollern monarchy, for the bond which has hitherto held it and Tsarist Russia together is now severed. And long after William I and Bismarck have passed away, 1914 will be the outcome of 1879.

On the 15th of August Alexander II wrote a letter to William with his own hand, so Bismarck says in his memoirs, "which, in spite of being expressed with the respect due to an aged friend and uncle, yet contained in two passages what, in the usual international acceptation, were definite threats of war. It was somewhat to the effect that if Germany adhered to her refusal to adapt her policy to that of Russia, peace could no longer be maintained." This is more than Bismarck can stand; he flares up and has the conference with Andrassy, who suggests that "the natural counter-move to a Russo-French alliance is an Austro-German alliance". They agree upon "a purely defensive alliance against a Russian attack upon either of the two parties". Andrassy will not listen to Bismarck's proposal that the alliance should extend to a French attack. Bismarck has made up his mind to

go to Vienna. "On no account", the Emperor replies, "for Russia must necessarily immediately regard this as a rupture." And William takes it upon himself to act independently and in opposition to him. As lately as on the 30th of August he writes to Alexandrina from Babelsberg, fairly cheerfully, about the Russian Grand Dukes Vladimir and Alexis, and the shooting party at Hubertusstock, "where Vladimir shot four stags and Alexei one, and they are delighted to have seen so many deer". An evening party at Potsdam, "or rather for Potsdam society, which was a great success, for I had dined beforehand with the officers of the *Garde du Corps*, so I was quite merry in the evening, but not drunk!" On the 31st of August he telegraphs: "The Emperor has arranged to meet me at Alexandrovo, near Thorn, on my way to Königsberg on the 3rd. What a meeting after three years!"

Manteuffel, the traditional messenger, has induced William to go to Alexandrovo. The Emperor telegraphs to his sister that the Tsar's delight at seeing him was quite touching; he was thinner than when at Ems; the review was very fine. He keeps a careful record of all that is discussed, for himself and Bismarck. The Tsar regrets his letter, as it had hurt William. The hostility shown to Russia by the German delegates to the Conferences over the Eastern question was responsible for the bitterness of the Russian Press. Bismarck's spite against Russia is due to the ill-will he bears Gortchakoff, a man whose day is over. The Emperor replies that Bismarck still retains his old feeling for Russia. The Tsar says that "European peace can only be maintained by our standing together *à trois*, as we had done since the meeting in Berlin in 1872". On the 4th he says good-bye after breakfast, "sincerely glad that the misunderstandings had been cleared up". William also has talks with General Count Adlerberg, the Minister Giers, and the Pan-Slav War Minister Miliutin, who are all very nice. But at Dantzig and Stettin he finds memoranda awaiting him from Bismarck, which thoroughly upset him. "You ask me", he writes to the autocratic Chancellor, who is making him of no account, "to send you instructions as to your returning via Vienna, in order to conclude a defensive alliance there against Russia which would be followed by the

greater alliance." For Bismarck has even mentioned the possibility of an alliance with "England and perhaps France" against Russia. "Put yourself for a moment in my place", William writes; "I have been with a personal friend, a near relation and an ally, in order to clear up a few passages in a letter, which were inconsiderate and were really misunderstood, and our talks lead to a satisfactory result. Am I at the same time to assent to a hostile alliance against this Sovereign now, in other words, to act behind his back in a manner which would be inconsistent with what I said to him?" How often Bismarck had warned him against tying his hands by treaties! "At the same time, however, I must not disavow you and the steps you have already taken in negotiating with Andrassy and his master. Therefore when in Vienna, where all the newspapers already say you are going, you may speak of the 'eventuality' of a disagreement with Russia, which might lead to a rupture, and enter into *pourparlers* with Austria as to the measures then to be taken in common. But I do not authorize you to conclude an agreement—and in this I am acting in accordance with my conscience—let alone a treaty." He cannot say how painful this episode, the first of the kind for seventeen years, is to him.

While at Gastein Bismarck has made arrangements with the Papal Nuncio in Vienna, M. Jacobini, to put an end to the *Kulturkampf*, and he nevertheless now goes to Vienna. He writes beforehand to acquaint the King of Bavaria with the circumstances, thereby securing His Majesty's good graces. He obliges the Emperor to give in, by the approved method of raising the Cabinet question. "No doubt he is very much annoyed?" William, who is now at Strasburg for the Alsace manœuvres, inquires of Chlodwig Hohenlohe, who has seen Bismarck at Gastein. On the same day, the 22nd of September, the defensive alliance is concluded in Vienna. William's remonstrance was useless. He writes to Bismarck from Baden-Baden: "I regret to see from your letter of the 24th inst., and the accompanying memorandum, giving the outlines of your negotiations in Vienna and the draft of the treaty to be based on them, that my views with regard to this treaty were not adopted. As I expressed these views as clearly as possible in my letters of the 10th and 12th inst. from

Dantzig and Stettin, you can see for yourself how far they differ from the results achieved, so I need not repeat them. I am nevertheless sending you back your letter of the 24th herewith, that you may form some idea from my marginal notes (which, unfortunately, are only written in pencil) of the impression it has made on me."

What he objects to is the "dishonesty" of the concealment from Russia; and then the *partie inégale* constituted by Austria's not being bound to give armed help against a French attack. He doubts Moltke's being right in the opinion he gives that Germany could carry on a war against France without allies, as the latter now has a chain of fortresses and fortifications along her frontier. He meets with no success. On the 5th of October, after Andrassy has been succeeded at the Ballplatz by Haymerle, he has to sanction the alliance by his signature. "My whole moral strength has broken down", the eighty-two-year-old man groans, "I don't know what is to become of me." But lest the Tsar should consider that his word is not to be relied upon, he writes from Berlin to tell him what has happened. The treaty is only a German alliance, and strengthens the *entente des trois Empereurs*. Nihilism is *de concert* with Pan-Slavism; peace is a protection against revolution.

On the 5th of November, after Podbielski's funeral, William writes to Alexandrina: "Patti was delightful as Violetta, and was immensely applauded. Unfortunately she was hoarse, so that *Lucia* could not be given." On the 17th the Tsarevitch comes on a visit to the Berlin Court. A plot to wreck Alexander II's special train near Moscow is discovered. The Nihilists threaten to destroy the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg. On the 20th of January 1880 Bismarck brings forward fresh military proposals in the Federal Council; the peace establishment of the army is to be raised by 26,000, the war establishment by 90,000 men; the 1st class *Ersatz* Reserves to be called up for training. The army estimates to be considerably supplemented. On the 17th of February an attempt is made to carry out the threat to the Winter Palace, but the Tsar is unharmed. "One hardly knows what to think", William writes to his sister, "one can no longer be safe in one's own house! The worst of it is that one fears

people in the Palace must have connived at it, particularly the inhabitants of the servants' quarters, where the explosion took place."

The negotiations with Rome are at a standstill; but the Prussian Government will settle the Church difficulties with the Diet. In Russia, dictatorship of the Liberal Count Loris Melikoff, whose life is attempted. The German Empire, England and France have sanctioned the independence of Rumania. "At last we have realized the wish we have so long cherished", William writes to his "dear cousin" Charles or Carol. "I have never concealed the fact that my sympathies have been with you, both as a Hohenzollern and personally." Waldersee is received in audience by the Emperor, who is slowly coming round: "He was cheerful and friendly, and spoke most appreciatively of my report on the French army. I saw by the calm way in which he spoke of a war with Russia that times have changed; a year ago this would have been impossible."

On the 10th of March William mentions in a telegram to Alexandrina the proposed betrothal of his eldest grandson to Princess Augusta of Schleswig-Holstein-Augustenburg; a betrothal suggested by the Crown Prince and Princess with the object of giving satisfaction to the family of a dispossessed Prince. Duke Frederick had been obliged to renounce all his rights; when he is dying in January 1880 he asks for compensation. There is no longer any difficulty, as Frederick's son, Ernst Günther, is not of age, and the Emperor consents. "It is commonly believed", Waldersee writes, "that the Princes and the majority of the Court are indignant over the poor marriage and the connection, and are of opinion that the Emperor is also very dissatisfied. That is partly nonsense and partly untrue. It is not generally known that the project is already a year old, and was mooted when Prince Waldemar (the Crown Prince's youngest son) died, and Prince Henry was at sea. The Prince's youth is against it, and also his fiancée being the elder of the two." In April the adoption of the Imperial Postage Stamp Bill by the Federal Council in opposition to Prussia, Bavaria, and Saxony leads to a fresh Bismarck crisis. Bismarck regards the precedence given to Prussia by the secondary States as contrary to the spirit

of the Federal Constitution. William refuses to accept the Chancellor's resignation, saying that he abides by his "never", and replies in writing that he must leave it to him (Bismarck) to make proposals to him and to the Federal Council, calculated to lead to a constitutional solution of the difficulty in choosing between conflicting duties.

After the Emperor's birthday, on the 22nd of March, he appends a marginal note to a letter of congratulation from the Cathedral clergy, thanking God "for having given me men of all classes who understand me". The Federal Council bows to the will of the Chancellor. The Reichstag passes the third reading of the Supplementary Army Estimates by 186 to 128 votes. The Socialist law is prolonged until 1884, not until 1886. In England a Gladstone Cabinet which sides strongly against Turkey in the Eastern question. Bismarck tries to render Hamburg's position as a free port nugatory by including the Lower Elbe in the customs district. His great speech in the Reichstag is, as the Emperor says, directed against particularism in the German States gaining the upper hand. "The speech has been more condemned than praised, and the utmost I can say is that *toute vérité n'est pas bonne à dire*, but as this *vérité* has been openly stated for once it has no doubt gone home, and will serve as a warning, for a threat it must not be."

On the 2nd of June Prince William's engagement is announced. Death of the Tsarina. Alexander II is going to marry his mistress, Princess Catherine Dolgorouki. "I feel anxious about the Tsar's future", William writes to his sister. "We must be prepared for a good deal, for ladies of this kind are very ambitious and apt to be insatiable. He may forfeit all his popularity and prestige." Then with reference to Princess Augusta of Augustenburg: "Now to come to a more cheerful subject, I will answer your question about the bride. After all that has gone before, I have no reason to be prejudiced in her favour. Therefore I am glad to have to admit that she exceeds my expectations in every respect. She has improved in looks since last year, and would give the impression in society of being very pretty; slight, fair, with a very pleasant expression, she is natural and at the same time dignified without being stiff, and makes herself agreeable

to everyone. Two of my Generals, to whom she talked for a long time at two small dinners, were enthusiastic about her."

A visit to Magdeburg, where he speaks of having had a most loyal welcome. The Chamber of Deputies and the *Herrenhaus* adopt the proposals for dealing with the Church, a compromise having been reached between the Conservatives and the National Liberals. The Government is thus given a certain amount of discretionary power in administering the May laws. The Great Powers assign Thessaly and part of the Epirus to Greece; this completes the work of the Berlin Congress. European naval demonstration, which compels the Porte to surrender Dulcigno to Montenegro. On his way back from Gastein in August William pays Francis Joseph a visit at Ischl. Stöcker's anti-Semitism in Berlin. A petition he circulates throughout Germany is aimed against the Imperial Chancellor. Secret meeting of the German Social Democrats at Wyden in Switzerland. The Left Wing of the National Liberals separates from the Party.

On the 1st of September, the tenth anniversary of Sedan, William issues a proclamation to the army. The Austrian Crown Prince Rudolph is a guest at the Berlin Court on the 10th. Bismarck becomes Prussian Minister of Commerce himself. The Emperor rejects the petition addressed to him by the Rhineland Centre Party, asking for total repeal of the May laws. He goes to Cologne to celebrate the completion of the Cathedral, and makes a speech in which he refers to 1842, the ceremony in the reign of Frederick IV, the "unforgettable King", and to Frederick William III, of "illustrious memory". There is "no discordant note". The procession is "splendid and historical, not in any way *mesquin*, which is saying a great deal, as it was a daylight function". Then Baden-Baden and back to Berlin. The Imperial Chancellor embarks on a measure of Social reform, without being by any means a pioneer in this respect. He requests the Governments to consider the question of State provision for old age. At the same time a partial state of siege is proclaimed in Hamburg and Altona on account of the Socialists. Very stringent measures taken against the Nihilists in St. Petersburg. "Thus", William writes in a letter to Alexandrina on New Year's Eve, "we enter upon the New Year with submission, humbly

resolved to walk in the paths prescribed for us by our religious faith, through the storms of these times!!"

On the 15th of January Bismarck submits an Accident Insurance Bill to the Federal Council. The Crown Prince speaks of the anti-Semitic movement as a "disgrace to the century". Important things are going on behind the scenes of foreign policy. Alexander II is not disinclined to negotiate with a view to improving the Russo-German relations, and the Chancellor has drafted a "*projet de stipulation*" for a new Three-Emperor Alliance, with Saburoff the Russian Ambassador in Berlin, and Haymerle, at Friedrichsruhe. Hitherto, as William informs his brother-in-law on the 17th of January, "the Emperor Francis Joseph and his counsellors' unconquerable distrust of Russia's policy" has been the obstacle. Prince Reuss, Charles Alexander's son-in-law, has been commissioned to prepare the ground in Vienna. It is now suggested that the Grand Duke himself ("Your sister", Augusta, "knows nothing about this letter") should go to see Francis Joseph and represent to him in confidence the absolute necessity of "acting together against the Western Powers". For "it cannot be denied", William remarks, "that Republican tendencies are reappearing in Italy, thanks to Gambetta, and also in Spain, so that the fact of the three greatest monarchies standing together will anyhow act as a moral counterweight, and, in case of need, they might have to take active steps in common". So it is still a case of the "Holy Alliance". William also writes himself to Francis Joseph. Haymerle has "many ifs and buts". Eventually the Tsar relieves the Grand Duke of the "*mission délicate*", which the latter obviously does not care to undertake.

The Speech from the Throne at the opening of the Reichstag announces that Socialist laws will be introduced, to combat the "aims of the Social Democrats", and the draft of a Bill concerning guilds. Botho Eulenburg resigns on account of a difference of opinion with the Chancellor in the *Herrenhaus*. On the 26th of February Prince William's marriage with Princess Augusta takes place. Quadrilles; the tallest officers of the Guards represent Frederick the Great's Giant Grenadiers. Bishops are to be appointed to the vacant sees in Prussia. Bismarck opposes

a protest in the Reichstag against exerting influence on the elections. Puttkamer takes over the Ministry for Home Affairs temporarily.

Alexander II, the Liberator of the serfs, is killed on the 13th of March by a bomb which was thrown at his carriage near the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg. This is a thunderbolt to the German Emperor. He telegraphs to the Grand Duke of Weimar: "We have both lost a tried and dear friend; and in what a terrible way! I am dreadfully upset, slept badly, but was able to attend the Greek Church mass at the Russian Embassy." His son, who is married to the Danish Princess Dagmar, succeeds him as Alexander III. William sends his son to the funeral. "The new Emperor", William writes, in spite of the hatred of Germany shown to the Crown Prince, "takes every opportunity of showing his friendly feeling towards Prussia and Germany, and with such sincerity that we may feel very well satisfied. Time alone will show whether the changes of personnel he has made will be a success. The choice of Ignatiev seems incomprehensible, however." Jewish pogroms in Russia. The murdered Tsar's daughter, Marie, wife of the Duke of Edinburgh, passes through Berlin. "She has heard nothing fresh from St. Petersburg. It is true that one can breathe more freely at Gatchina, but how that immense park is to be protected and safeguarded I cannot imagine. Count Schuvaloff paid me a visit yesterday on his way back from Rome. He shrugged his shoulders over the state of doubt and perplexity that has existed hitherto." In May Alexander of Bulgaria's *coup d'état*. The Austrian Crown Prince Rudolph marries the Belgian Princess Stéphanie. Alexander III issues a manifesto proclaiming his sovereignty. The French occupy Tunis; indignation in Italy.

End of the Reichstag session, after the proposal of a State subsidy had been rejected on the third reading of the Accident Insurance Bill. "State Socialism", says Bismarck, "is fighting its way through." Count Stolberg resigns: Puttkamer becomes Minister for Home Affairs, Gossler Minister of Education and Public Worship. The Empress has a fall on the Pfaffendorf bridge at Coblenz. William telegraphs from there to his brother-in-law: "Your sister was suffering from internal complications,

which necessitated an operation. It has been successfully performed to-day. May God grant her the patience and submission required for her recovery. I am not allowed to see Augusta, as all excitement is forbidden." Martial law in Leipzig; Bebel, Liebknecht and Hasenclever are banished. Vladimir gives orders which, says William, "seem to me likely to unsettle the troops and injure their morale". Whilst the Emperor is at Gastein the Empress exchanges her bed and *chaise longue* for a wheel-chair. Dr. Korum is appointed Bishop of Trèves by agreement between Prussia and the Pope. Anti-Semitic riots in Pomerania and Stettin. On the 8th of August William is at Coblenz with Augusta, who is gradually recovering. "She is able to speak almost as well as ever, and already takes perhaps almost too active a part in everything. One has therefore to be careful not to guide the conversation too much into interesting channels." Agitation in favour of a general election which will be a verdict on the Chancellor's policy; the official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* speaks of a referendum.

On the 8th of September William and Alexander III meet at Dantzig; Bismarck and Giers, representing Gortchakoff, are with them, but not Ignatiev. Death of Prince Frederick of the Netherlands, who was a friend of William's youth. From Berlin to Alexandrina: "I arrived here feeling calmer after a good sleep. We must bear what God sends us, and always remember that it was His will."

On the 1st of October the Emperor is in Stuttgart, having attended the marriage of his granddaughter, Victoria of Baden, with the Crown Prince Gustavus of Sweden, at Carlsruhe. "The King was very amiable and sympathetic *à sa façon*." After the death of Haymerle, Kalnoky is appointed Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs. On the 19th of October, at Baden-Baden, the Emperor thanks his brother-in-law for the copy of a letter in which the Tsar emphasizes his adherence to his father's policy, whose object was the peace and progress of humanity. "In view of his upright character", the Emperor writes, "his feeling towards Germany and Austria is assuredly to be relied upon, so peace is secured. It is true that everything depends upon people not gaining his confidence who hold other views

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and pursue aims which at present are far from his thoughts. Ig., who is furious at not having been taken to Dantzig with them, is dangerous, and all the newspaper articles which put a wrong interpretation on that expedition and its consequences are said to emanate from him. He is believed to be trying to prevent an interview with the Emperor of Austria." On the same day a telegram to his sister: "All that one has to live through and get over, when one is as old as we are growing, makes one's brain reel!"

On the 27th of October and 14th of November the Reichstag elections. National Liberals and Independent Conservatives lose about a hundred seats, the Left Liberal secessionists and the Progressives are almost doubled; Bismarck has not secured a working majority. King Humbert of Italy goes to Vienna, but not to Berlin yet.

On the 17th of November the Imperial Speech read by Bismarck to the new Reichstag, again about the Social laws and now about the Tobacco Monopoly as well. The Government, it says, is innocent "not only of any hidden fiscal motive, but also of any reactionary aims". The speech is received in silence. In Bismarck's speech during the debate on the Budget, he speaks against the Republican tendencies of the Progressive Party: "You will not succeed in preventing the Emperor from speaking to his people in the German Empire. To think of shutting the Emperor William's mouth after our twenty years' history is useless. How can you deny a monarch who has carried out a great national policy on his own responsibility and at his own risk, the right to an opinion of his own? So long as I live, the Emperor will always have a faithful servant of the Crown." On the 15th of December Puttkamer states in the Reichstag, in opposition to Bennigsen, that it is his duty to influence the elections. The following curious letter from William to the Chancellor is dated December 18th: "I must tell you of a remarkable dream that I had last night. I dreamt it just as clearly as I am now relating it. The Reichstag met for the first time after the holidays. Count Eulenburg came in during the debate; there was immediate silence. After a short pause the President called upon the last speaker. Silence! The President adjourns the sitting. Distur-

bance and uproar. No orders are to be given to any member during the session; the monarch's name is not to be mentioned. Another day's sitting. Eulenburg appears, and is received with such hissing and shouting—I woke in such a state of nervous agitation that it was a long time before I could get over it. It was then half-past four o'clock, and I lay awake until half-past six." He hoped the dream would not come true. Might it not have been the result of his talk with Bismarck? "*Enfin* I felt I must tell you about this curious experience."

Bismarck's Royalism has a repercussion. On the 4th of January, 1882, William issues a manifesto to the Ministry, in which he demands the personal right to control the policy of his Government. Telegram to Charles Alexander, about the assassination of the Tsar in St. Petersburg and of Garfield in America: "Unfortunately revolutionary ideas are as rampant as ever, when we see such desperate attacks made on the Tsar and the President." A difference of opinion between Bismarck and the Prussian Chambers of Commerce, which have questioned the advisability of Protection. Scobelieff speaks as a Pan-Slavist against Germany; the Tsar sends him away to travel. "That a General on the active list should take upon himself to make public speeches of a political nature", William writes to his sister, "is in itself incompatible with all discipline; but, on top of that, to defy almost all the States of Europe and impute blame to us, always representing us as a country wanting to make conquests in Russia, is too absurd! I should like to know what we could possibly wish to acquire in Russia? It is truly not the least worth while going to war for the sake of a few uncultivated, uncivilized provinces, to say nothing of Poland, which would only be strengthening our own Polish plague-spot! It is a great pity that Scobelieff asked for a glass of water in the course of his speech in St. Petersburg, for otherwise he might have been forgiven a good deal, in the belief that he was drunk!"

On the 5th of March: "What has become of the Russia where we spent such happy times in every way!! This Scobelieff, whom we met two years ago at Königsberg and were surprised to find so unassuming, now appears on the scene as a General on the active list in absolute insubordination to his master, proclaims

war against us, is recalled from Paris in disgrace, then returns by the most roundabout ways, stopping for days at a time on the road and making speeches again at Warsaw; that shows what a state of affairs exists in the army and amongst the people there." The Tsar receives Scobelieff with the remark, "*Je vois Scobelieff repentant*". "Nothing has been heard about repentance hitherto", says William, "perhaps Ignatiev told him this, for he is secretly in league with Scobelieff and is well known to be an expert liar." Of the spring in Berlin he writes: "Everything is very forward; there is as much dust in the Tiergarten as in summer, for as a rule they only begin watering on the 1st of April." Milan of Serbia becomes King, like Carol in Rumania a year earlier. A Prussian Minister at the Vatican, Herr von Schlozer. Giers succeeds Gortchakoff "at last". The eighty-five-year-old Emperor is indisposed. The Federal Council sanctions the Tobacco Monopoly. A Church Law for Prussia in accordance with the compromise between the Centre and Conservative Parties in the Chamber of Deputies. Birth of William's great-grandson on the 6th of May. "God be praised!" the Emperor writes to the Crown Prince; "and imagine our feelings of gratitude! There are consequently four generations of kings living! What an unusual thing!" The Emperor weeps when he sees the new-born infant.

Bismarck again pleads ill-health, and on account of the Tobacco Monopoly. His master regrets this for the sake of the Reichstag: "Although public opinion has very much changed with regard to the question of monopoly, it still hangs in the balance, and no one but you could save it, or at least have it further elaborated for next year." William signs the Church Law with some hesitation. The Tsar has moved to Peterhof. The Coronation is postponed for a year. "If only things are better then!" William says in a letter to Alexandrina. On the 11th of June the great-grandson is christened at the New Palace; the ballet *Sardanapalus* is given in the evening. Bismarck's Reichstag speech in favour of the Tobacco Monopoly. He says that since seeing his King and master lying bleeding after the attempt on his life, he had felt he could not leave his service without his consent. The only reason for his still being there was the "flesh and blood of my

old master". Bennigsen's Opposition speech against the Chancellor's taxation and economic reform proposals.

Fall of Ignatiev; Count Tolstoi becomes Minister for Home Affairs. William is at Ems, Alexandrina at Bayreuth, and he looks back on the "tiring Wagner operas". From Mainau about Egypt, where the English fleet is bombarding Alexandria: "The pretty piece (*War in Peace Time*) is now being sanguinarily performed in Egypt. Incredible!" In August meeting with Francis Joseph at Ischl. In September manœuvres in Schleswig. In military Dresden: "have seen the relief for the Niederwald memorial, completed in plaster, three-quarter scale, very successful, also the three-quarter scale model for Germania, *magnifique*". Procession in costume, 25,000 torches and lanterns, music, "tremendously patriotic". Back at Babelsberg very tired.

The elections to the Prussian Chamber of Deputies have been rather unfavourable to Liberalism. On the 30th of October William writes to Bismarck: "I can only agree with the approval you express of the better political temperature shown in the country at the elections, and I am quite of your opinion that the decrees of last November and January—due solely to your great foresight—have at last brought about this change in the minds of thinking politicians. It is to be hoped that the economic policy may also finally carry the day in the debates, as it might have been expected to do last year, but did not!" Herbert, Bismarck's elder son, goes to London as Ambassador, Count Hatzfeld having become Foreign Minister; his communications are "extraordinarily interesting", and the English statesmen, the Emperor says, have confidence in him. On the 19th of November Giers pays the Chancellor a visit at Varzin. A German Colonial Society is formed at Frankfurt a.M.

In January 1883 the Reichstag discusses the Army Estimates. The War Minister von Kameke replies so effectively to Eugen Richter's attacks that the latter is said to be wavering. Prince Charles of Prussia, William's brother, who had broken his ankle and wore an elastic stocking, dies on the 21st of January. "Yes", the Emperor says to Alexandrina, "another of our united circle of brothers and sisters, who shared so many memories of our childhood with us up to a great age, has now passed away."

Giers goes back from Italy via Vienna. The German Crown Prince's silver wedding. A violent conflict between the Reichstag and the Government over the wish of the majority to tax officers' private incomes. William, who is concerned about Alexander III's return to St. Petersburg, says that one cannot shut one's eyes to the fact that there is an increasing tendency amongst the masses in all countries, whether Kingdoms or Republics, to restrict the power of the Government. He "dreads" the Tsar's Coronation. He and Augusta are coughing a little. Kameke is dismissed. He is succeeded by Bronsart von Schellendorf. The Minister of Marine von Stosch now resigns as well. General von Caprivi takes his place. Prince Albrecht is elected Grand Master of the Order of the Knights of St. John, not the "unreliable" Frederick Charles. Prince Albrecht (who is a fine-looking man) is to go to Moscow for the Coronation, "there is no question of the heirs to the throne going, as it cannot be denied that there is a certain amount of risk"; for there is great "depravity" in Russia. William is growing a little more feeble.

Bismarck is seventy-eight on the 1st of April, and his master recalls the day on which "the Almighty, in His wisdom and grace, gave you to the world and to me". His present to him is an "inevitable" egg from the china factory, "which contains the eagle you have refashioned". An Imperial message to the Reichstag urges its acceptance of the Government Social proposals. Statements made by the Italian Minister Mancini and Koloman Tisza make it publicly known that Italy has joined the Austro-German Dual Alliance, which thus becomes the Triple Alliance. William goes to Wiesbaden towards the middle of April—"out to grass", as he writes to his sister (who soon after that loses her son, the Grand Duke Frederick Francis), "as the horses went out to grass at Czerna-Retchka near Jelagin, in the happy old days in the Guards". Augusta is being massaged. "Now good-bye!—Ever your ageing brother W." He is glad that Charles Alexander approves of the message to the "half-hearted" Reichstag: "The disapproval it has met with from the Opposition shows how necessary it was! The term 'Sovereign Reichstag' which is actually being openly employed, shows what the Progressives want to make the people believe! for there is not a

word about that either in the Prussian or the German Constitution. Thank God!" The Army Pensions Bill falls through, as Bronsart refuses to give way on the question of taxing officers' private incomes.

On the 27th of May the Tsar's Coronation, at which Prince Alexander of Bulgaria is also present. "The Emperor", William says in a letter to his sister, "cannot have looked very imposing on a little white Cossack horse, with the saddle and bridle and the little fur cap." Schweinitz had written to him that the Empress with her beautiful eyes had quite outshone her jewels. "God be praised that the ceremony went off without a hitch!" Bennigsen withdraws from Parliamentary life. The Reichstag session comes to an end, again with a message from the Emperor. William is at Ems in July, where it is very hot. The Prussian *Herrenhaus* having passed a new Church Law on the Windhorst lines adopted by the Chamber of Deputies, Bismarck goes to Friedrichsruhe, Kissingen, and later to Gastein, where the Emperor remains until August. William is indignant about an "inconceivable" fête given by the officers of the Potsdam garrison, with the Crown Princess, on the Pfaueninsel. "I only reluctantly consented to a charitable bazaar being held on the Pfaueninsel, on its being represented to me that the beauty of the island would attract people. Had I known that it would degenerate into such buffoonery, I should never have agreed to it." He pays Francis Joseph a visit at Ischl.

In August William has a great many Royal guests in Berlin and at Potsdam, amongst them the King of Rumania. "Augusta", he writes to his sister, "with her female attendants, two ladies' maids, two wardrobe women, a masseuse, a *sœur grise*, etc., who have to be at hand day and night, takes up all the rooms from the *Marmorsaal* to the plate-room, to which I am driven!" The Federal Council and the Reichstag, summoned for the purpose, ratify the Commercial Treaty with Spain. After the death of the Comte de Chambord, the Comte de Paris, who invites the Grand Duke of Weimar to Trouville, is the claimant to the throne of France; William is in favour of caution. Bismarck confers with Kalnoky at Salzburg.

Siege operations on an extensive scale at Graudenz. The

garrisons on the eastern frontier and the German Baltic fleet are strengthened. The Rumanian Prime Minister Bratianu is at Gastein with the Chancellor; Rumania joins the Central European Peace Alliance. German army manœuvres at Homburg towards the end of September. The foreign spectators are the Prince of Wales, King Alphonso of Spain, in the uniform of an Uhlan Regiment of which he has been appointed Colonel-in-Chief, and the King of Serbia. On the 28th unveiling of the Niederwald memorial; an attempt to blow it up is frustrated by the quick-match getting wet. On his arrival in Paris the crowd jeer at Alphonso, calling him the *Roi-Uhlan*. "We are all still revelling in the remembrance of the 28th", William telegraphs from Baden-Baden to his sister, "but poor King Alphonso in Paris, that is really too disgraceful!" In a letter to Bismarck, the Emperor expresses his great regret that the Chancellor was not present at the ceremony at Rüdesheim: "It was one of the most successful I have ever attended, as regards the arrangements, the way in which they were carried out, the grandeur of the memorial in itself, the fact of the weather having unexpectedly cleared up, and above all the feelings of those who had taken part in the fighting and subsequent victories commemorated by the memorial. You were the most notable of them all, as having brought about these tremendous events and guided them to a glorious peace."

The Emperor had had an interview with Prince Dolgorouki, the Russian military plenipotentiary in Berlin, who was the bearer of peaceable assurances from Alexander III. "But it is remarkable", William says in concluding his letter to Bismarck, "that he should have massed so many troops on the western frontier." He also commissions the Grand Duke of Weimar to carry on a friendly correspondence about this with the Tsar, who is now in Copenhagen; and sends one of his messengers to his brother-in-law for this purpose. Bismarck refuses to give Turkey the guarantee for which Mukhtar Pasha asks at Friedrichsruhe. Kalnoky says in the Hungarian Delegation that Austria-Hungary will not have to face an attack by Russia without assistance. Dynamite explosion at the police-court at Frankfurt a.M., Posen is strongly fortified by the Germans and Warsaw by the Russians. Four-hundredth anniversary of Luther's birth; the

Emperor sends his son to represent him at its celebration at Wittenberg. He writes to Kögel: "It must be the will of God that this teaching has not been more successful in the four hundred years, and it is therefore our duty to be patient."

A fresh diplomatic *rapprochement*: Giers, who is on his way to Montreux, goes from Berlin to see Bismarck at Friedrichsruhe. The Crown Prince goes to pay King Alphonso a visit in Spain. William, who has heard nothing more from Alexander III, writes to Charles Alexander: "Prince Bismarck and I are convinced that as long as Giers is at the helm there will be no war, and I told him this plainly." (He had said to Giers: "*Vous êtes mortel comme nous tous, qui serait votre successeur?*") "Accordingly", he continues, "I don't think you need discuss this subject any further with the Emperor; you might perhaps say something pleasant about the milder tone that has been adopted by the Russian Press. Fritz's visit seems to be very satisfactory and important in every respect, as unfortunately I am unable to undertake the journey myself."

In December his suspicion of the Tsar's feelings is revived. "The intriguer Ignatiev", the Emperor informs his brother-in-law, "has cropped up again in St. Petersburg, and is said to be very active; that is always a bad sign, *le point noir* in Russia. I am glad", he adds, "that you approve of Fritz's visit to Spain; it is another of Prince Bismarck's important moves." Puttkamer speaks in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies against the Progressives, who demand secret franchise in Prussia as well, and even wish the Reichstag ballot to be public. Bismarck receives the French Ambassador, de Courcel, at Friedrichsruhe, and tells him that Germany will not stand in France's way in Tongking. The Crown Prince goes to see King Humbert in Rome, and afterwards Leo XIII. William writes to the Chancellor that his son has completed what had been a veritable triumphal progress in the south of Europe: "it is fortunate that at the age of fifty-two he is a middle-aged man, so that his head cannot be turned by such a success". He apologizes for having troubled Bismarck about the pros and cons in connection with the visit to the Vatican. He is distrustful of Prince Orloff, whom the Tsar proposes appointing Ambassador in Berlin, and for whom Bismarck

expresses a former liking. Orloff has taken him aback by apologizing for the Poles. "Besides that, there is something about his extraordinary vivacity, almost amounting to loquacity in discussing politics, which is in absolute contrast to our sober view of important questions and our social conditions, so that I fear he will not be a success in our sober sphere."

At Christmas William gives the Chancellor a bronze model of the Niederwald memorial. A church has been built in Berlin to expiate the attempts on the Emperor's life made by Hödel and Nobiling, and he does not like the idea of attending the opening ceremony, lest he might seem to be actuated "by pride and vanity".

In January 1884 the "anarchist" Reinsdorff is arrested in connection with the attempt to blow up the Niederwald memorial. William considers, in a letter to Bismarck, whether he ought not to confer the Order of the Black Eagle on Giers, who is going on a visit to Vienna, as he had given it to Count Kalnoky. "The doubt I have about it", he says, "is that hitherto the position has seemed worse to the general public than it really was, and that it is only a short time since things improved; therefore such a high mark of favour would be misunderstood." Herbert Bismarck goes as Ambassador to St. Petersburg; the Chancellor intends this as a hint to Schweinitz to resign. William, who has asked Hatzfeld what his being sent there means, agrees to it and hopes for the best. On the other hand, things look all the worse in Western Europe. "France", the Emperor considers, "is wasting money and human life on her ill-considered colonial policy, although she seems to be finally scoring a success. England will now see the consequences of the one-sided policy she pursued at Alexandria, and yet do in the end what she had given her word that she did not wish to do, i.e. absorb Egypt in some way or other! Hard times seem to be in store for our little friend in Spain. Many a time did he assure me that he would rather risk his life in fighting in his own country than give in. He might, however, sooner be dethroned than sacrifice his life! *Qui vivra verra*, as Metternich said to me in London in 1848; he was probably thinking of a better future yet in store for himself."

Prince Orloff is nevertheless appointed in February; William

has made no further objections. The Tsar sends a whole deputation to him on the seventh anniversary of Bar-le-Duc, when he received the Russian Cross of St. George, as a young Prince; its members are the Grand Duke Michael, General Gurko, commanding the Guards, Count Shuvaloff, and two commandants of regiments. That pleases him. "I regard it", he writes to his sister, "as confirmation of his decision to adhere to the tradition of his predecessors, which was to stand firmly by Prussia-Germany and Austria, as nothing but unity between the three Great Powers can continue to preserve the monarchical principle in Europe. If only this lasts, and he does not break away again!" Navy Bill in the Federal Council, proposing the construction of seventy torpedo-boats. Formation of the German Liberal (Freisinnig) Party. Bismarck threatens to dissolve the Reichstag unless it agrees to prolong the Socialist law indefinitely. He also threatens to resign as Prussian Prime Minister, as he does not wish the Diet to have a voice in the appointment of Ministers. In the Federal Council Prussia declares definitely against responsible Ministries, as being a change to Parliamentary government. Nachtigal goes to the west coast of Africa. Test mobilization of the German Navy.

On the 10th of May the motion in favour of prolonging the Socialist law is carried by 189 to 157 votes. William telegraphs to his sister: "I have just heard that the proposal to prolong the Socialist law has been carried, although only by a majority of thirty-two. A great triumph for the Conservatives." The Explosives Bill follows. Then another dynastic affair. On the same day on which his eldest daughter's wedding with Prince Louis of Battenberg took place, in the presence of Queen Victoria, the Prince of Wales, and the Crown Prince, the Grand Duke Louis of Hesse contracted a morganatic marriage with a Russian, Mme de Kolemin. The Queen, who is shocked, made the Grand Duke go back to England with her. Charles Alexander, who was planning a marriage between his own daughter and the Grand Duke, asks the Emperor to take some action with regard to these numerous morganatic marriages in the German reigning families. William thinks, from what "Louis" has let out to Alexander of Bulgaria, that the reason for the "catastrophe" is that the lady is *enceinte*. "It is said that Louis knew nothing

about her scandalous past, whereas everyone now professes to have known all about it." The Queen would like him to divorce her and marry a lady "of unimpeachable reputation and high rank". "So now I have told you all I know about this more than sad business! Naturally it puts an end to certain wishes of ours!"

Bismarck does not approve of the Anglo-Portuguese Congo treaty. William refuses to accede to the demand made by the Chamber of Deputies for an inquiry into the illegal action taken by the Governor of Gumbinnen in influencing elections, as being an encroachment on the Royal prerogative. Prince William goes to St. Petersburg, as the sole representative of a reigning House, to attend the festivities in connection with the Tsarevitch's coming of age; Waldersee is with him. The Emperor comments on a *revirement* in his son's household. The Crown Prince has parted with his Chief of the Staff, General Mischke, chiefly at the instance of the Crown Princess. The General is a friend of his Liberal chamberlain, von Normann, who is also to go. The Emperor welcomes this change: "Hitherto", he writes to his brother-in-law, "my son's political views have not been mine or those of my Minister; you know that, unfortunately, as well as I do! In short, he has told General von Albedyll himself that he holds with the English principle of government, consequently parliamentary government, not merely parliamentary legislation, which is the fundamental principle of the Prussian and German Parliaments. This is the view held by Normann, which he has instilled into Mischke, and with which they have imbued my son, presumably at the instigation of the Crown Princess, both of them being in daily contact with him." William is surprised at the Crown Prince having told Albedyll that Mischke had been away from the front too long, was in bad health, had shown his weak points on the occasion of the visit to Spain; he sees plainly that Normann knows too much about the Crown Prince's private family affairs. "The appointment of thorough Conservatives like Colonel von Winterfeld and Radolinski to succeed Mischke and Normann", he thinks, "suggests that there is a change for the better in Fritz and Victoria's political views, perhaps it may be due to remarks made about him during his visit to Spain in the Chamber of Deputies, where it was said that when the time

came, as it must sooner or later, for him to succeed to the throne, the tendency of the Government would be Liberal. This probably drew Fritz's attention to what would be expected of him some day." The Emperor is often interrupted in writing this letter, the Grand Duke will see this, he says, as "neither the wording nor spelling is worthy of you". He has taken to making grammatical mistakes and often using the wrong words latterly. He abandons his usual visit to Wiesbaden.

Bismarck is appointed Vice-Chairman of the Prussian Privy Council, the Crown Prince Chairman. Krüger, the President of the Transvaal, is received in Berlin by the Chancellor and the Emperor. The foundation-stone of the new Reichstag building is laid; the first stroke of the hammer is given by the monarch himself. He goes to Ems. Augusta hobbles to meet him, leaning on a stick. "I was almost frightened at finding her failing so much." A Reichstag majority, particularly the National Liberal Party, votes for the Accident Insurance Bill. The Emperor writes to thank Bismarck's assistant, von Bötticher. The Chancellor goes straight back to Varzin. The Grand Duke Louis's marriage with Mme de Kolemin is dissolved by the Hesse Supreme Court of Justice, after the fall of Stark on account of the affair. William is at Gastein, then again pays a visit to Francis Joseph at Ischl. Kalnoky is staying with Bismarck, who is negotiating with the Powers with regard to a Congo Conference. A German warship hoists the Imperial flag in the Cameroons. Towards the end of August the Emperor has another riding accident; he slips off his horse. On the anniversary of Sedan he gives Bismarck, the "soldier", the Order *pour le mérite* with oak-leaves. He has a fainting attack during the review. He signs his letter to Alexandrina, "Your invalid brother". Notwithstanding this, September is a very strenuous month for him. From the 15th to the 17th he is at Skiernevice with Alexander III and Francis Joseph, Bismarck meets Giers and Kalnoky there.

The Chancellor has come to an understanding with de Courcel at Varzin about the question of African colonization. The Emperor refuses to receive an address from the Catholic nobility of Westphalia; on the other hand he replies to one from "yellow" Düsseldorf industrial workmen. Expatriations in North Schleswig.

Death at Sibyllenort of Duke William of Brunswick, a member of the elder branch of the Guelph House. "I felt his death very much", William says in a telegram to Alexandrina, "as such an old friend of my youth, and the last of his ancient House. The decisions with regard to the succession will give a great deal of trouble; the Regency is behaving very tactfully and firmly in rejecting the Cumberland pretensions." He is present at Charles Anton of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen's golden wedding.

German supremacy over Angra Pequena. Reichstag elections, reducing the Liberal strength and increasing the number of Social Democrats. Congo Conference in Berlin presided over in the first instance by Bismarck. The Chancellor wishes to limit the Reichstag members' right to travel free of charge by rail, and attacks the Majority composed of Centre, Liberal and Social Democrat Party members. The German flag hoisted in the South Sea. At Bismarck's request the Reichstag votes an addition of 20,000 marks to the Foreign Office Estimates, for the salary of a second Director. Reinsdorff and two of his comrades, who ostensibly frustrated the attempt to blow up the Niederwald memorial, are sentenced to death by the High Court of Justice. In writing to the Court Chaplain, William thanks Providence "that a crime, cunningly contrived, which had remained undiscovered for a year, had again been prevented by the will of the Almighty".

On the 5th of January letter of thanks from the Emperor for the New Year address from the Berlin Magistrates: "It is a special gratification to me that my efforts to secure peace by meeting the two Sovereigns of our great neighbouring States have been attended with success." News of the suppression of the native rising in the Cameroons. Murder of the police magistrate Rumpff at Frankfurt a.M.; he had traced Reinsdorff and been a witness at the Leipzig trial; the murderer is sentenced to death. German flag hoisted at Apia in the island of Samoa. Bismarck has a conversation with Malet, the English Ambassador in Berlin, about the estrangement between the Empire and England, caused by the colonial antagonism. Rohlfs at Zanzibar. "Sixty years ago to-day", William telegraphs to his sister on the 7th of February, "I went to Posen, where the meeting—the engagement

which lasted only too short a time—took place after three years' separation." He is thinking of Elisa Radziwill. On the 11th, Waldersee notes: "The Emperor's attacks of weakness now occur so often that it really seems as though his condition were such as to cause anxiety. We must be prepared for the end not being far off." Death of Schleinitz, the House Minister, at the age of seventy-eight. Execution of Reinsdorff and Küchler; the spy Rupsch, through whom the police heard of the outrage, is sentenced to imprisonment for life with hard labour.

Corn law, which brings the increased duties on wheat into force at once. The International Congo agreement. Exchange of Notes between England and Germany. When making subsequent claims for the new colonies, Bismarck makes a speech in the Reichstag against Gladstone's Cabinet, and against advantage having been taken of what he says was his purely private advice to Lord Ampthill that England ought to secure her power in Egypt through the medium of the Sultan. William writes to Charles Alexander about this not very "seemly" behaviour on the part of the Whig Ministry: "Bismarck felt bound to censure this indiscretion publicly, whereupon he had the satisfaction of receiving, as it were, a public apology. It is to be hoped that this sharp lesson will make the incredible Gladstone more cautious." The Chancellor sends Herbert Bismarck to London to adjust the difficulty. The Emperor and Bismarck sign the guarantee of protection for Dr. Peters's East African Company.

In a letter to Alexandrina on the 11th of March William recalls their mother's last birthday, and how she was trying on her ball-dress in her sitting-room: "A long glass had been brought in, and I can still see how, when she had finished, she called me and cut a bit off a long white ribbon, which I picked up, also a good many pins which I found and gave to my tutors at their request! I can still see it all! But what I can never forget is that when the polonaises were being danced in the *Weissesaal*, and Mamma had danced with the most distinguished Princes, Schilden came and said that Mamma wished to dance a polonaise with me; I was so taken aback that I almost cried with joy and astonishment, for I had never dreamed of such a thing, and afterwards I kissed her hand with the deepest gratitude! Beside

our pretty Mamma I could not have looked very well, small as I was, powdered, and in shoes and stockings, not elegantly dressed as our Princes are now, even at ten years old!"

On the 22nd of March the Prince of Wales and his son are in Berlin for the Emperor's eighty-eighth birthday. The Imperial subsidy for mail steamers to the Far East and Australia is granted. Compensation to the House of Schleswig-Holstein. Prince Bismarck's seventieth birthday; thanks from William "which will endure beyond the grave". Collision between Russia and Afghanistan at Penjdeh; Anglo-Russian discord, which the Emperor discusses with the Russian Generals Mirsky and von Richter. "In view of the irritation in England, where popular opinion is in favour of war with Russia", he writes to his brother-in-law, "one cannot tell what the enterprising Gladstone will advise. It may easily lead to a European crisis." He gets a chill at the Easter service in the Cathedral; before and after it selection of twenty eggs for the family and members of the Household, "which was a real labour *par force*". Herbert Bismarck becomes Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. The Agrarian Tariff is adopted by 199 to 105 votes in the Reichstag. The Emperor and the Chancellor guarantee German protection to the New Guinea Company. A German naval squadron off the coast of Zanzibar. Death of Prince Charles Anton of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. Bismarck goes to Kissingen on the 2nd of June. Fall of the Gladstone Cabinet; a Salisbury Conservative Ministry. William, who has been ill for three weeks, writes to Charles Alexander, "Much as I wish the Tories to come into power, this would imperil peace very much now!" On the 14th he receives Count Paul Schuvaloff in audience on his appointment to be Russian Ambassador in Berlin.

Death of Prince Frederick Charles, on the 15th. "A man of very mediocre intelligence", Waldersee says of him. Up to the last the hunting-lodge Dreilinden, on the Wannsee, was his favourite residence. He entertained his men friends here, giving them the best of food, but they had to drink out of cheap glasses and eat with steel forks. A horn cup filled with champagne had to be emptied by each in turn, according to military rank. There were parrots in the winter garden, who practised Cavalry signals,

and when in Berlin and Glienicke he was visited by explorers such as Brugsch and Nachtigal. His son Frederick Leopold has "good qualities", Waldersee remarks, but his character is unfortunately "still quite unformed". On the 17th, death of Field-Marshal von Manteuffel at Carlsbad. Count Dürckheim, an Alsatian with German sympathies, quotes his friend Chauffour as having said that his Governorship of the Rhineland provinces began with good intentions but was full of contradictions. "The worthy Field-Marshal's task was like that of the virtuous Penelope, which was never finished. Both in word and deed he was an insoluble problem to the people of Alsace." He is succeeded as Governor by Chlodwig Hohenlohe. "I was so terribly upset by the dreadful blow, which affected me personally so much, that I could hardly hold my pen, for I am just as weak here as before I came", William writes from Ems to his brother-in-law. After his arrival there he had another fainting-fit.

On the 2nd of July the Federal Council decided that it would be incompatible with the Imperial Constitution for the Duke of Cumberland to reign over Brunswick. Bismarck goes to Varzin, William, via Coblenz and Mainau, to Gastein, where Francis Joseph comes to see him; his physicians have forbidden his going to Ischl himself. Pelew and the Caroline Islands are placed under German protection, in spite of a protest from Spain. Kalnoky at Varzin. The Emperor back at Babelsberg. He unveils the statue of Frederick William I at Potsdam. The Tsar and Francis Joseph meet at Kremsier in Moravia. Attack on the German Embassy in Madrid; the escutcheon is torn down and burnt. The Spanish Government expresses regret. Army manœuvres in Baden and Würtemberg. Spain agrees to accept the Pope's arbitration. Proceedings against Socialists at Chemnitz; they are acquitted.

Eastern Rumelia rebels against Turkey and unites with Bulgaria. William, who has attended the wedding of Louise's son, the Hereditary Prince Frederick William, with a Princess of Nassau, writes from Baden-Baden to his sister: "The usurpation in Rumelia, which the Battenberg Prince immediately recognized, thereby upsetting the Berlin Treaty, is a serious matter. It will be very difficult to maintain peace and order in the neighbouring

K. J. Arnold, The Emperor William and Bismarck

countries, and what will become of the Battenberg in the end? To leave him in possession of his self-erected throne, would be recognizing the revolution; on the other hand his downfall would involve the fresh calamity of having to choose a successor. The Spanish incident now seems like a poor farce, in which the revolutionaries are ashamed of having made so much fuss about nothing. It was only our calmness and forbearance, and the energy we showed, that saved him, otherwise he was lost, for his Ministers had lost their heads, and some of them would perhaps even have been glad of his downfall." He signs himself: "Ever your ancient brother W."

On the 1st of October news of the loss of the cruiser *Augusta* in the Gulf of Aden. The Rumanian Bratianu is staying with Bismarck at Friedrichsruhe. Milan of Serbia threatens war against Bulgaria. The *Skuptschina* votes war credits. Giers with the Imperial Chancellor. The Emperor lets his brother-in-law know that Prince Albrecht of Prussia is to be Regent in Brunswick: "My nephew has accepted the office, which is not hereditary, but nothing is to be said about it until the Regency Council has held the election. It will then be ratified by the Federal Assembly." The Ambassadors of the Great Powers in Constantinople declare themselves against the Bulgarian union. Count Münster, the German Ambassador in London, is sent to Paris instead of Chlodwig Hohenlohe; and is replaced by Count Hatzfeld. The Pope's proposal as regards the Caroline Islands. The Emperor is in Berlin at the end of October. Entry of Prince Albrecht into Brunswick. Prince Alexander of Battenberg is dismissed from the Russian army. Serbian war against Bulgaria.

Since 1884 the Crown Princess has been trying to bring about a marriage between her daughter Victoria and Alexander, who, it is true, is not of equal rank, but who is closely connected with the English Royal Family through the marriage of his brother Henry, a Colonel in the British army, with the Queen's youngest daughter Beatrice. In May 1884 the *Kreuzzeitung* had divulged the fact that Prince Alexander was paying court to Victoria, and Bismarck had spoken strongly in the Cabinet against this love affair, as an intrigue to destroy the understanding between the German and Russian monarchies. The Emperor upholds the

Chancellor. "I may say", he writes to Prince Bismarck on the 13th of November, "that I consider the moment has come to point out to my son, as I have long wished to do, the extreme inadvisability, no less now than ever, of the marriage in question. He has naturally always considered it impossible himself, but now, when Prince Alexander has acted in direct opposition to the Berlin Treaty and its signatories, a marriage of that kind is more undesirable than ever, whether he remains in Bulgaria or not. You were perfectly right in what you said with regard to the political position.—Your grateful William."

The Bulgarians are victorious in the battle of Slivnitsa. "This war is outrageous", he telegraphs to his sister. The Speech from the Throne in the Reichstag, read by Bötticher, expresses a hope that European peace may be maintained. Bismarck in Berlin. Death of King Alphonso. Telegram from William to Charles Alexander: "He was like a son to me, treating me with such confidence and friendship, and seemed as though he were specially chosen by Providence to set poor Spain on her feet again in due course." The Bulgarians defeat the Serbs at Pirot in Serbia. The Austrian Ambassador, Count Khevenhüller, informs Prince Alexander that if he advances any farther he will be opposed by the Austro-Hungarian army. In the meantime an army order issued by the Tsar commends the valour of the Bulgarian and East Rumelian troops, and rehabilitates Alexander. William has a cold and cough, and is weak. He has a shivering-fit at the Opera, and is obliged to stay in bed. "Must try to fight still harder against it all, as Papa said before his death." Two letters to his old friend Leopold von Ranke, who is now ninety. Bulgaria and Serbia accept the terms of the armistice proposed by the military representatives sent to the theatre of war by the Great Powers. The Pope confers the *Christusorden* on Bismarck, the new Diocletian. "We never cease to pray that you may be successful in all that you are doing." Cardinal Jacobini is given the Order of the Black Eagle.

On the 3rd of January 1886 William celebrates the twenty-fifth jubilee of his reign. "May God continue to be with our German Fatherland", he says in his formal letter of thanks to Bismarck. Prussia proposes a monopoly on brandy in the Federal Council.

William opens the Diet in person. After the *Ordensfest* he is "half-dead". He differs from the Tsar's Pan-Slavist views with regard to Protestantism and the German language in the Baltic Provinces. He writes to his brother-in-law, regardless of Bismarck's Polish policy: "Naturally those who wish to serve the State must learn its language, the language of the State, and the aim must be to have it sufficiently taught in the schools to enable the people to hold their own in other Provinces; no sensible Government would propose to do away with the language of the Provinces. Naturally the German Provinces in Russia do not wish to give up their language in exchange for the uncivilized Russian language, but one cannot tell the Russian monarch that to his face!"

The Salisbury Cabinet makes way for a Gladstone Cabinet. A Conservative-National Liberal Majority in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies rejects a proposal to adopt secret franchise. Puttkamer argues that secret voting is unworthy of an independent and highly civilized people. A cold sunny February. Ice on the ponds in the Tiergarten. The pavements of Unter den Linden are full of people "wanting to look at the shop windows and sit outside the cafés". This is what the Emperor sees from his window. After a ball at the Castle he feels "very stiff in the legs". The Reichstag refers the draft of a Bill for prolonging the Socialist Law to a Committee. It passes the third reading of the Bill proposing to construct a canal between the Baltic and the North Sea. "The physicians will not hear of my travelling yet", William informs his sister.

On the 3rd of March the Peace of Bucharest is concluded, without enlarging Bulgaria, which leaves the Tsar suddenly in the lurch. The Great Powers "introduce new conditions": the Battenberg Prince now becomes Governor-General of East Rumelia. The Emperor has had one of his accidents: he caught his right spur in the left trouser-strap, in the *Rittersaal*, and fell over his sword. "I am much better to-day", he telegraphs to the Grand Duke of Weimar. "Peace has at last been achieved, which could have been done long ago with a little less hair-splitting. But I fear that a settlement of the future will be just as wearisome." Prince Alexander does not obey. Brandy Monopoly rejected by

the Reichstag, in spite of a warning from Bismarck. The Socialist Law is prolonged. The Emperor enters upon his ninety-first year. He writes to the Court preacher Kögel, as a marginal note: "Up to now no hint has reached me from any quarter of there being a question of appointing a Papal Nuncio here, and I would never agree to such a thing." In France Brisson's Ministry, which had been discredited in January by the Tongking affair, has been replaced by the Freycinet Cabinet, the War Minister being General Boulanger, who announces his intention of restoring France's military power. Paul Déroulède publishes the book *Avant la Bataille*, and is to go to Moscow and St. Petersburg in the summer to agitate against Germany.

Prince Alexander now obeys, with reservations. The Great Powers, all but France, send an ultimatum to Greece, who is unwilling to disarm against the Porte, but is compelled to do so by the Powers blockading the Piræus. Prussian Law providing for the settlement of German peasants in Polish districts of Posen. German treaty of protection and friendship with the Hereros and two other tribes in South-West Africa. Peace Notes exchanged between Prussia and Cardinal Jacobini with regard to the Church. On the 16th of May telegram from William to Alexandrina: "I had an attack at tea-time yesterday which deprived me of the power of speech or thought. I had to go to bed, and the doctor thought it was from being overtired. I had a similar but longer attack the first time the Shah of Persia was here." Herbert Bismarck becomes Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Conspiracy against Alexander of Battenberg organized by a Russian Captain Nabokoff; the conspirators are arrested by the Bulgarian police. On the 16th of May William had already written to his sister: "I am very well, as far as is possible in view of the upset the terrible news from Bavaria has been to me. What we have to live through and learn in our long life!" Then in June the last act is played in Ludwig II's tragedy.

For long past the King, who was the author of the Versailles proclamation through having written the letter composed by Bismarck, had shown signs of madness. Pathological sexual symptoms of it are to be found in the diary he kept from 1869

to 1885. "Nothing but spiritual affection is permissible; carnal affections are accursed." Night expeditions in fantastically designed richly gilt sledges by magic moonlight. The Castle of Linderhof. The device "*L'état c'est moi*". The "Temple of Fame", with its extravagant decorations, dedicated to the Sun. Decrees issued, "*De par le Roy*", "*Car tel est notre bon plaisir*", or in the Spanish language "*Yo el Rey*". In 1870, on the occasion of the Crown Prince's "very upsetting and unwelcome visit", "At last met the idolized friend again on the 17th at half-past ten, after a long period of separation. Joyful reception, happy hours, garden, sitting together, grotto, faithful unto death." Deep interest in the martyrdom of Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette, and Charles I of England. Jottings in this diary show that he was a sexual pervert, occasionally conscious that his conduct might cost him his throne, and resolving to abandon his corrupt practices but then reverting to them.

In December 1885 the contractor who built Linderhof, Neuschwanstein, and Herrenchiemsee, is in a serious financial position. A Herr Söhnlein is prepared to lend money in return for a title of some kind. The Keeper of the Privy Purse writes to the King's valet, asking him to use his influence with the King to induce him to grant the title, on the ground that Söhnlein might perhaps be the only man in a position to lend a few more millions later on. On the 25th of January 1886 Ludwig replies to him: "I declare that if it should really appear that Royal money has been misappropriated—which I sincerely hope is not the case—I should either put an end to myself or leave the hateful country at once in which such a frightful thing had happened. The whole weight of the responsibility for this disaster would then fall upon those who had failed to avert it through not taking timely steps to prevent the misappropriation." On the 23rd of March Dr. von Gudden diagnoses the case as one of chronic mania, and Prince Luitpold takes steps to prove that he is incapable of managing the affairs of the State. In vain Ludwig turns to Bismarck. On the 8th of June Dr. von Gudden and the other physicians called in make their report. It is annihilating. The King is a nephew of Princess Alexandra and brother of Otto, both of whom are incurably mad. The King has always suffered from morbid dread

of his fellow-men. He is unsociable; hence the private performances at the theatre, his frequent retreats to Hohenschwangau. Munich is "unbearable" to him—a "prison". He drinks eight to ten glasses of champagne at dinner. Concealed behind flowers he casts furious glances round, strikes the ground with his sword. After a scandal in connection with the actor Kainz he only associates with his footmen and hairdressers. Hallucinations and mad ideas. He imagines that he has banged his mother's head with a large water-bottle, thrown her down and trampled upon her. Another time he thought he was in the crypt of the *Theatinerkirche* and that he took King Max's body out of the coffin and boxed his ears. He wants to fly through the air in a carriage drawn by peacocks. There is a tree between Berg, his villa on the Starnberg lake, and Ammerland, which he calls the "sacred tree" and to which he bows. He spits on a bust of the Emperor at Hohenschwangau, contemplates hiring a gang to carry off the Crown Prince from Mentone and imprison him in chains, and on bread and water. Versailles has been dishonoured by the presence of German troops. Ludwig wanted to set Munich on fire, lock up his aide-de-camp, Count Dürckheim, and his secretary, Ziegler, and transport others to America. He throttled one of his outriders. His valet, Mayr, was not allowed to appear in his presence without a black mask for a whole year, and one of the footmen was obliged to have his forehead sealed with sealing-wax. He wanted to blow up Herrenwörth. A Second Lieutenant in the Bavarian army was to restore the system of absolute government with a "coalition" in Bavaria. He was prepared to abdicate in favour of Prince Luitpold in consideration of a large sum of money, or sell Bavaria to Prussia. He gave his orders from behind a closed door, on which his servants had to scratch. Those he punished had to kneel down or prostrate themselves. He beat them until the blood ran down. He called the affairs of the State "rubbish", the Ministers "rabble, riff-raff, *canaille*". He wanted to borrow money from the Emperor of Austria, the King of Sweden, Brazil, Brussels, the Sultan, and the Shah of Persia. It transpires later on that he was in receipt of payments from the Guelph Fund. He will never be capable of governing.

On the evening of the 19th of June a State Commission composed of several Ministers and others, including Gudden and his assistant, Dr. Müller, arrives at Hohenschwangau bringing a letter from Prince Luitpold with regard to setting up a Regency. They are accompanied by four keepers dressed in black. Ludwig is at Neuschwanstein. His coachman hurries on in advance of the Commission, so that when they reach Neuschwanstein they find the entrance guarded by gendarmes, who refuse them admittance. The fire brigades of Hohenschwangau and Füssen are summoned by Ludwig's orders. The members of the Commission are arrested. Ludwig wants to have them tortured and put to death. The gentlemen manage to escape and get to Peissenberg. Dürckheim, his loyal aide-de-camp, sends off urgent telegrams, amongst them one to Bismarck. Appeal to the people of Bavaria: "I, Ludwig II, King of Bavaria." They are to rally round him. Bismarck replies: "His Majesty should go to Munich at once, show himself to his people, and represent his interests in person to the assembled Diet." Ludwig was given the same advice by Baroness Truchsess, a neurotic admirer. Ludwig asks for the key of the tower, intending to throw himself down from the top of it. Instead of the battalion of Rifles he has summoned, a detachment of Gendarmerie appears on the evening of the 11th and takes possession of the Castle. The King is unnaturally calm. The keepers take him by the arm. While it is still night he is driven off to Berg in a carriage without door-handles. He is treated as a raving lunatic, shut up in a room with barred windows and doors, in which holes are bored. He sleeps. In the morning he asks to see Gudden and Müller. He goes for a walk in the park with Gudden, sits on a bench on the bank of the lake. "He can humbug me as much as he likes, but I shall not be taken in", Gudden says when his colleague advises him to be careful. Another walk towards seven o'clock in the evening without a keeper. The King has an umbrella. It is raining.

At ten o'clock Müller telegraphs to Munich: "The King and Gudden went for walk this evening; not back yet; park being searched." At half-past ten one of the servants brings the King's hat. Then Gudden's hat and umbrella and Ludwig's coat and overcoat are discovered on the bank of the lake, wet through.

Müller and the bailiff row in the direction of Leoni. Two dead bodies are floating in the lake. On the 16th Ludwig II is lying in state in the Chapel Royal, wearing the black velvet robes of a Grand Master of the Order of St. Hubert, with the ermine mantle beneath him. From henceforth Ludwig becomes a legend.

The Crown Prince is present at the funeral. "But what details one hears of the poor King's state before his death", William says in a letter to his sister. "It is too sad; Fritz writes to me that his face looked quite calm." Luitpold, now Prince Regent, announces that he will maintain the "relations of cordiality and confidence which so happily unite the Crowns of Prussia and Bavaria, with such advantage to Germany". William has been at Ems since the 18th of June, Bismarck at Kissingen since the 3rd of July, where he receives the Bavarian Ministers, Lutz and Crailsheim, and Count Kalnoky. The Prince Regent refuses to accept Lutz's proffered resignation. The Emperor passes through Munich on his way to Gastein. The Grand Duke Vladimir speaks at Dorpat of the Tsar's determination to russianize the Baltic Provinces. The Socialist leaders, including Bebel and Vollmar, who were acquitted at Chemnitz, are sentenced to nine months' imprisonment by another Saxon Court, as the Imperial Court of Justice has set aside the acquittal. The Russian military attaché, Fredericks, who attends the unveiling of a statue erected in memory of General Chanzy at Nouart, expresses thanks for the acclamation of Russia by the crowd, "*Vive la Russie!*" Gladstone defeated at the elections; Salisbury Cabinet.

Bismarck is at Gastein with Chlodwig Hohenlohe, Bötticher, Herbert, and the Prussian War Minister, Bronsart von Schellendorf. The Empress Elizabeth succeeds in taking William "completely by surprise". Francis Joseph arrives later with Kalnoky. William writes to Alexandrina: "At seven-thirty I was writing to Augusta when a *jäger* rushes into my room and exclaims: 'The Empress is on her way upstairs!' I would not believe him, but I jumped up and met her actually at the second door! I was so taken aback that I suggested our sitting down at once, for I was quite shaky! She was delighted at having so completely surprised me, remained for more than a quarter of an hour conversing most

pleasantly, and when I asked to be allowed to follow her downstairs, she forbade it peremptorily, so that I was obliged to obey." On the way to Salzburg William has a rush of blood to the head accompanied by giddiness, and has to lie down. On the 10th of August he is at Babelsberg. Courcel, the French Ambassador in Berlin, is recalled, and replaced by Herbette.

On the 21st of August, towards morning, the Prince's Palace in Sofia is surrounded by a Cavalry regiment which has mutinied; the officers force their way in, point their loaded revolvers at Alexander's head, and force him to sign an illegible paper abdicating the throne. He is driven, strictly guarded, to Rahowa on the Danube and conveyed on board his yacht to Reni in Russia. He makes his way from there to Lemberg. The Russian Party, including the Metropolitan, Clement, form a provisional Government and issue a manifesto stating that the Prince has come to the conclusion that his rule is disastrous for Bulgaria: "We cannot pursue any but a Russian policy, out of gratitude for the sacrifices Russia has made on our behalf in blood and kind." The great Tsar will protect Bulgaria. Troops and the Assembly of Notables at Philippopolis and a number of other garrisons are loyal to the Prince. Counter-revolution led by the President of the *Sobranje*, Stambuloff, and Colonel Mutkuroff; the provisional Government is arrested. Alexander returns from Lemberg. In reply to an obsequious telegram from the Prince the Tsar says: "I cannot approve of your return to Bulgaria, as I foresee that the consequences will be fatal to the country, which is sorely tried apart from this. Your Highness will know what to do. I reserve the right to judge what is due to my father's honoured memory, and in the interest of Russia and of peace in the East." It is a sentence of outlawry, pronounced on the 29th of August.

On the 26th Bismarck and Giers are at Franzensbad; the Russian Ambassadors and Ministers in London, Paris, Vienna, Copenhagen, and Washington are there. The *entrevue* is said to have revived the principle of combined action by the Eastern Powers. Giers then says he considers the Prince less to blame than England, who had made use of him—England, who had again lost no time in recognizing him. Giers is in Berlin from the 2nd to the 4th of September. William at the manœuvres at

Strasburg and Metz; his grandson, Prince William, at the Russian manœuvres at Brest-Litovsk. At Metz the Crown Prince tells Hohenlohe that Bismarck had said: "It would be a good thing if Russia were to get Constantinople and the Balkan Peninsula, for that would weaken her." The Tsar confers the Order of Vladimir on the Pan-Slavist, Katkoff. Prince Alexander makes a speech to the officers in Sofia; he would abdicate in order to avoid a Russian occupation and secure Bulgaria's independence. He appoints a Regency Council—Stambuloff, Mutkuroff, and Karaveloff, and takes his departure. The Russian, Kaulbars, who had evacuated Bulgaria in 1883, plays the part of a dictator in Sofia, and leaves the country with all the Russian consuls, as the Regency and the *Sobranje* defy him.

On the 21st of October William leaves Baden-Baden for Berlin. Schuvaloff goes to St. Petersburg. Bismarck at Varzin, in Berlin, and at Friedrichsruhe. Kalnoky says in the Hungarian Delegation that had Russia sent a Commission or an army of occupation to Bulgaria, "these would have been acts which would inevitably have compelled us to adopt a resolute attitude". Katkoff replies that Russia would extend her hand to a sure ally, regardless of Germany and Austria. In the latter part of November, Germany, France, and Italy inform Russia confidentially through their Ambassadors in St. Petersburg that they would have no objection in principle to Russia's proposal of Prince Nicholas Damian of Mingrelia as a candidate for the throne of Bulgaria. Stambuloff protests that the Bulgarian people would never put up with a Prince who had sold his country for money. He sends Stoiloff and two other Ministers on a mission to the Powers. Kalnoky does not receive the mission; Herbert Bismarck receives it in Berlin. As the Russian Ambassador in Vienna says that they will not be received in St. Petersburg, the members of the mission go on to London. The candidature of Ferdinand of Coburg-Cohary, a grandson of Louis Philippe, is discussed. The Prince is serving in the Austrian army.

Prince William hopes to be "employed" in the Foreign Office during the winter "or in reality be kept better informed". His parents consider this "outrageous, useless, and goodness knows what", Waldersee says. Heated correspondence between Bismarck

and the Crown Prince, who is annoyed with the Chancellor again about the Battenberg business. Army Bill introduced in the Reichstag, demanding a renewal of the septennate, the peace establishment to be raised at the same time from 427,000 to 468,000 men. Speaking for the Government, the War Minister, Bronsart, refers to the France of Boulanger. The German Empire might very soon be involved in a war. The Reichstag adjourns. There is no such great hurry, Windhorst says, the Government contemplates a dissolution. The Emperor's remark to someone unknown: "He had expected that the Reichstag would be more disposed to meet the Government in a matter which concerned the position of the Empire towards other countries; it troubled him very much to have been disappointed as regards this."

William's eightieth military anniversary on the 1st of January 1887. Speech to the Generals holding commands, a letter to the Crown Prince. The Reichstag reassembles; Bismarck disapproves of Commission to which the military proposals have been referred. From the 11th to the 14th of January the Bill is debated by the House. The Chancellor's speech. "We shall have no quarrel with Russia unless we go to Bulgaria to look for it." Again *désintéressement*, the "bones of the Pomeranian Grenadiers": "What is Hecuba to him? There is nothing in the Eastern question which could be any reason for our going to war. We shall not allow anyone to drag us into anything, on account of this question, which would embroil us with Russia." He says very plainly that the difficulty of the Three-Emperor Alliance is the difficulty in keeping peace between Austria and Russia, with their rival and concurrent interests. Germany's efforts to bring about a reconciliation with France have been no less sincere, but Gambetta's solution: "*Ne parlez jamais de la guerre, mais pensez-y toujours*" (the text is slightly altered), is still "the hall-mark of the French situation". "In my opinion we have to fear war through an attack from France"; whether in ten days' or ten years' time he does not know. At the final sitting on the 14th, paragraph 1 of the Bill is carried with an amendment proposed by the German-Liberal, Stauffenberg, by 183 to 154 votes. Three years is substituted for seven. Bismarck: "I have an Imperial message to give the Reichstag." The House stands up. A dissolution decree.

"Bravo!" from the Left. William telegraphs to Alexandrina: "The Reichstag has been punished for its behaviour. It can hardly be spoken of as behaviour, its conduct has been so pitiful. The immense superiority of the French army over ours was clearly put before it, the absolute necessity of the counter measures proposed is obvious, and yet they were rejected. And the French are asking for an immediate grant of eighty-six million francs for the army!"

The Conservative-National Liberal Cartel is formed for the next election, both Parties agreeing to support the Septennate. The Emperor also finds fault with the Reichstag on the occasion of giving an audience to the Speaker of the *Herrenhaus*; he said he had been terribly and painfully affected. The *Herrenhaus* address had been "balm" to his feelings. Prince Hohenlohe notes: "I hear that the relations between the Crown Prince and Bismarck are strained, on account of Battenberg. The Crown Prince disapproves of the dissolution. Went to see Bleichröder in the afternoon. He does not share the distrust of France, does not believe in war at present. On the other hand, he thinks that war between England and Russia is imminent, which might lead to a general European war in 1888." Bismarck stands firmly by Russia. "The Austrians are annoyed by Bismarck's speech. The Crown Prince's circle would like the Prince of Bulgaria to be appointed Governor General of Alsace-Lorraine, to enable him to marry Princess Victoria, or Imperial Chancellor!" The Pope notifies his disapproval of the Centre Party's policy through Cardinal Jacobini. A war symptom: The export of horses from Germany prohibited. Increased activity amongst the Russian troops in Poland. Socialists are arrested at Dantzig, Magdeburg, and Freiburg-in-Breisgau. The *Post* publishes an article against Boulanger, *War within Sight*. Panic on the Bourse. Seventy-three thousand Reservists called up for training with the new magazine rifle. Export of horses prohibited in Austria and Russia. On the 21st of February the elections; great victory for the Government.

William is tired during these weeks, cannot speak connectedly, and sleeps badly. On the day of the elections he writes to the Grand Duke of Weimar about the latter's proposed family visit to St. Petersburg, about the Tsar and Katkoff, about the impudent

lies told by the Pan-Slav Press, in saying "that we intend attacking France and that Russia must come to the rescue of the latter", about Prince Mestcherski's mean attacks on Bismarck in the *Grashdanin*, about a feeler thrown out by Peter Schuvaloff, Paul's brother, to find out "whether his Emperor would write to me to discuss the Bulgarian questions in view of A. Battenberg's threatened return". Military risings at Rustchuk and Silistria, due to Russian intrigues. Executions. Treaty between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. This Triple Alliance is now interpreted as meaning that Italy is bound to come to the assistance of Germany in case of her being attacked by France, but remains neutral in case of a Russian attack on Austria.

On the 3rd of March William confesses to Bismarck in despair that he cannot find the Battenberg memoranda which he had put away. "I have been hunting for them again, but in vain! It is inexplicable! for no one could even have seen the paper in question! And that such a confidential paper should have disappeared!!" On the 11th of March the Army Bill is passed by the Cartel-Reichstag with 227 to 31 votes, the Centre Party abstaining from voting. The Emperor tells a General that "he feels twenty years younger; his people could not have given him a handsomer Easter and birthday present". Boulanger is honoured by being presented with a golden Cossack sword, with the Russian inscription: "Be bold; God helps the brave!" Discovery of a plot to assassinate the Tsar on the Nevski Prospekt. On the 22nd of March William completes his ninetieth year. "Ninety years", he writes to Bismarck for publication: "a lifetime, and what a long span! When I look back upon it all, it seems inconceivable that I could have lived through and achieved so much. During the time that still remains to me it will continue to be my aim as hitherto to promote the welfare and safety of my people."

On his birthday the German Emperor confers the Order of the Black Eagle on Count Robilant, the Italian Foreign Minister. The Bulgarian Minister of Justice, Stoiloff, in Vienna. He states that there is an overwhelming feeling in favour of the re-election of the Battenberg Prince amongst the people and the army in Bulgaria. But as most of the Powers strongly object and Alexander himself is against it, he tries to find out whether Prince Ferdinand

of Coburg would accept election. Katkoff dines with the Tsar in St. Petersburg. Giers counts on receiving the Tsar's sanction, but no letter comes. In spite of that he does not resign. Anti-German demonstrations in Alsace-Lorraine. The Schnäbele incident; the French boundary Commissioner at Pagny railway station, a French secret service agent, is arrested on the German side of the frontier by two German secret service police. The Procurator-General at Nancy, Schnerb, maintains that the arrest took place on French territory. The French Ministry vote in favour of an ultimatum to Germany, in view of this provocation; Grévy, the President of the Republic, and Flourens, the Foreign Minister, are against it; the Premier, Goblet, and Boulanger are for it. Bismarck acquits Schnäbele. He had reported to the Emperor, he informs Herbette, the French Ambassador: "His most gracious Majesty condescended to decide that in consideration of the international motives for effectually safeguarding international transactions, Schnäbele should be set free, in spite of his having been arrested on German territory, and in spite of the proofs that exist of his guilt."

In May Boulanger asks for a credit of five million francs for the trial mobilization of an Army Corps. Fall of the Goblet-Boulanger Ministry. A Rouvier Cabinet, which the Radical and intransigent Press insult by calling it a "German Ministry". Demonstrations at the Opera in favour of Boulanger, the "good General". The General quits the scene of action, having been given an army command. He is appointed to the command of the XIII Army Corps at Clermont-Ferrand. Bismarck succeeds in getting the Emperor to write forbidding the marriage between the Battenberg Prince and Princess Victoria. After conceding the Bosphorus and Bulgaria to Schuvaloff, he concludes the secret Reinsurance Treaty with Russia in the course of this month. By doing so he sacrifices the equally secret treaty of 1879 with Austria-Hungary. In the event of a French attack on Germany Russia will remain neutral. He justifies his *coup* by saying that it will do Germany no harm if Russia allows the matter to transpire. "I don't believe that it will trouble the Emperor of Austria. He will know then that we only want to avert the Russo-French alliance for three years."

On the 3rd of June William takes cold on the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of the North Sea–Baltic Canal. He had insisted on being present: "Why not? for to begin with I should like to see the province again, secondly it was I who revived the project of the North Sea–Baltic Canal, in opposition to old Moltke, and thirdly when once Prince Henry is married I shall not be going there at all." He is laid up. He writes to Bötticher: "I willingly put up with the illness, for I would not on any account have missed the pleasure it was to me to be able to attend this national ceremony." Adoption of the Brandy Monopoly Bill in the Reichstag. Members of the Alsace-Lorraine Patriotic League charged with high treason. Expatriations from the Provinces. William to his brother-in-law on the 29th of June: "The doctors are driving me out of Berlin for change of air, and I am going to Ems on the 2nd or 3rd. I am only recovering strength very slowly." Ferdinand of Coburg is elected Prince of Bulgaria by the *Sobranje*. He tells the deputation which he receives at Ebbenthal, near Vienna, that he hopes to be able to give a definite answer in a fortnight's time.

In July William is at Gastein, where Francis Joseph comes to see him. The Central Committee of the Socialist Democratic Party are arrested by the Berlin police. Crispi becomes Italian Prime Minister. Death of Katkoff in August, telegram of sympathy from the Tsar to the widow. Déroulède's tour in Russia. Russian protest against Ferdinand, who arrives on Bulgarian soil and swears allegiance to the Constitution in the *Sobranje*. Both France and Germany break off relations with Bulgaria. Just before leaving Gastein William has an attack of faintness. On the 11th he is at Babelsberg, where he receives Bismarck. The Chancellor then goes to Kissingen.

In September a newspaper telegram speaks of a prospective meeting in the autumn between the German Emperor and the Tsar. William has to send Prince Albrecht to the manœuvres at Königsberg. After the Sedan dinner he falls down in the midst of the officers invited to join the *cercle*. He telegraphs to Alexandrina: "What I feared has happened. Not only the doctors, but also the War Minister and Albedyll have begged me to give up Königsberg, all the more as I had a very bad night. I am really

in despair, as Königsberg plays such an important part in my life." Test mobilization of the XVII French Army Corps at Toulouse. Bismarck's organ, the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, states that Germany has disapproved of the "Orleans-Coburg business" from the beginning. There is not a shadow of excuse for the frivolity with which the peace of Europe has thus been risked. It was no part of Germany's policy to compete with France for Russian favour, she pursued her way absolutely independently. On the 9th the Chancellor returns to Berlin from Kissingen, on the 16th he has a visit from Kalnoky at Friedrichsruhe. The Emperor has no authentic news from the Tsar. He writes to his brother-in-law: "I share your views about a meeting with the Tsar, but at present the matter seems uncertain, for during the two months which have elapsed since it was announced by the newspapers, we have not heard a word about it, either officially or indirectly, nor have we even had a hint or received any confidential communication on the subject, so that Prince Bismarck and I doubt there having been any real intention" (here he loses the thread). "For he can hardly drop upon us like a bombshell, he must see that it is impossible, as it would put me in a very embarrassing position in the eyes of the world not to be able to receive such a distinguished guest suitably." Alexander III is at Copenhagen; he does not go to Berlin or to Swinemünde, where he is expected, as William is at Stettin for the manœuvres. The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung's* announcement that the visit would only be in the nature of an act of courtesy was to no purpose. Letters of thanks from William to Bismarck on the occasion of his twenty-five years' Ministerial jubilee: "The history of the last quarter of a century shows that I was not mistaken in selecting you."

Franco-German frontier trouble in Southern Alsace; a keeper, by name Brignon, is shot on German territory. On the 1st of October Crispi comes to stay at Friedrichsruhe for some days. Count de Launay, the Italian Ambassador in Berlin, and Herbert Bismarck are also there. Russia agrees with the Porte as to the procedure in Bulgaria. William is at Baden-Baden. Hohenlohe hears from Wilmovski, the head of the Civil Cabinet, that the Emperor is annoyed with Herbert Bismarck on account of the

Schnäbele affair. The Emperor to Charles Alexander: "The news from France is very interesting, and is consistent with what I heard personally from Lesseps and MacMahon's former aide-de-camp and friend" (the reference is to General d'Abzac), "before the fool Boulanger had gone so far that he achieved his own ruin. If he has to leave the service now, he will be more dangerous than in it, for there will be no need for him to obey anyone." Demonstrations by the unemployed, carrying red flags, take place in London—in Trafalgar Square and Hyde Park. "The meetings in London", William goes on to say, "are really now assuming a dangerous character, for hundreds of policemen were treated with contempt, and therefore resorted to force to prevent the procession from going to the City, but a procession to Buckingham Palace could probably only be prevented by military force, and if this were to fail?? *Enfin*, Europe is like a volcano breaking out from time to time on a small scale preparatory to a great eruption."

In November William has fresh attacks. The Tsar has now announced his intention of coming for one day. Kalnoky states in the Hungarian Delegation that the Prince of Coburg was not proposed by the Austro-Hungarian Government, but his candidature did not violate the Berlin Treaty, and the Bulgarian people had a right to the independent choice of a Prince. Wild excitement over this in the Russian Press. Prince William shows Waldersee Foreign Office dispatches from Russia which Herbert Bismarck has given him about the distribution and transport of war material to the west, and other matters. Waldersee reports to Moltke, he says it is certain that Russia will fight in the spring. He goes to Herbert Bismarck, the latter to his father. The Chancellor has words with Schuvaloff on account of the dispatches: "You obliged us to turn to Vienna, last year to Rome; now we shall turn to Turkey, and end in rousing the Chinese against you as well." Schuvaloff "is said to have gone away like a whipped dog". On the 15th of November the German Emperor writes to his sister: "As their Imperial Majesties are coming to Berlin for the first time as such, it is my duty to receive them with all due ceremony." In spite of this he advises Augusta not to come over from Coblenz, as this "would be showing an *empressement*

which the visit does not really deserve, as it is only being paid because the Russian Navy said it was impossible for them to go back by sea, either direct or via Sweden, when once the frost had set in, as is now the case".

Prince William goes as far at Wittenberge to meet the Tsar and Tsarina, and their sons, the Tsarevitch Nicholas and the Grand Duke George. The Emperor meets the Tsar at the Russian Embassy and remains half an hour. Bismarck has told his master what he must say to the Tsar, namely, that a French triumph would be a triumph for revolution in Germany and in Russia, and that the break up of Austria would lead to Republics being set up there and in the Balkans; the unchanging principle of cohesion between the Eastern monarchies. The Chancellor is with the Tsar for a whole hour. The latter says bluntly that he has gained the impression from documents and dispatches, particularly a dispatch from the Ambassador, Prince Reuss, that Prince Bismarck is playing a double game as far as the Eastern question is concerned, and is only professing to act in Russia's interest. Bismarck indignantly: "Your Majesty, if such Notes have been submitted to you as emanating from me, you have been deceived; I have never written anything of the kind, nor has my Ambassador ever reported anything of that nature to me." The Tsar gives his sources of information; Bismarck says that the documents are forged. After the audience the Chancellor induces his master to confer the Order of the Black Eagle on Schuvaloff, who had made up his mind to resign. State dinner at the Emperor's Palace. An act of the *Walküre* which was to have been given at the theatre, at the Tsar's request, is abandoned, as he has to leave Berlin at half-past nine instead of half-past eleven. William telegraphs to his sister: "The Tsar said when talking to me that we must control the Press, it is high time!! I have seldom known such a full gala-day go off so well."

In France, which has been excited by Boulangism, fall of Rouvier, and also of the Prime Minister, on account of the corruption proved against Wilson (Grévy's son-in-law). Sadi Carnot elected. Tirard Ministry. Bismarck tries to curry favour with Lord Salisbury, who, however, is not to be seduced from his allegiance to the French Republic. An official Russian circular

states that there is no breach with Germany and that Bismarck has promised to be absolutely neutral in the Bulgarian question. Bismarck shows up the forgeries in the *Kölnische Zeitung*; they emanate from the Orleanist Party. The Russian circular does not refer to them. The Orleans Princes protest. The *Reichsanzeiger* publishes the apocryphal documents, namely, three letters from Ferdinand to the Comtesse de Flandres, a member of the Hohenzollern family, and a letter from Prince Reuss to Ferdinand. The *Kölnische Zeitung* announces that Russian troops are being moved towards the Galician frontier. Military conferences in Vienna.

On the 16th of December the Reichstag discusses a new Army Bill, which is to add 700,000 men to the German army. On the 17th Moltke, the War Minister, Albedyll, Waldersee, and also Prince William, are with the Emperor. Waldersee's diary: "The Emperor wished to hear a report on dual war against France and Russia. He began by speaking at great length of his personal feelings and said how difficult it would be for him to draw the sword against Russia. In doing so he described what our relations to this State had been since 1806 and showed us how his liking for Russia had gradually come about, and that he thought he was right for political reasons as well. He became quite enthusiastic when he spoke of the Emperor Alexander II and of his friendly attitude during the wars with France and Austria; apparently he was very fond of him. He made a great point of the difficulty he must naturally feel in going to war with Russia, and nearly broke down several times in speaking of this. He then went on to speak of the present Emperor and the cooler relations now existing, and touched on the visit which had recently taken place. Amongst other things he said: 'I told him plainly that if he wanted to make war upon us in alliance with France we should be the weaker side and could be destroyed; but, I said, believe me, Europe would not tolerate it.' A cold shiver ran down my back when I heard this. Neither the Emperor Alexander nor any other Russian would have expected anything of that kind, but of course they must have been delighted to hear it, and would be more audacious than ever. I hope, however, that on thinking it over, people will realize, even in Russia, that these were only the views of an old man of ninety." William then sanctions

Moltke's proposals and military agreements with Austria. "Prince William, whom the Emperor had cautioned not to mention the treaty, treating him as a young man, in his usual way, gave me a lift in his carriage on leaving, and was rather depressed by the Emperor's pessimism and scepticism. The Field-Marshal told me that it was just the same in 1870."

"Europe is like a seething volcano. . . ." The end of 1887, the last close of a year that William lives to see. But he is already oppressed with anxiety regarding the succession to the throne, both from the paternal and the dynastic point of view.

EVEN UP TO this great age William is exceedingly simple in his private life. The long narrow room in which he sleeps, lighted only by one window, looks on to the courtyard of the Palace. He rises very early—in winter long before daylight. The back part of the room, hung with green, is shut off by a green curtain and contains his iron camp-bed, just as it stood at the Rothschild's Château de Ferrières. A white quilt. On the wall, at the head of the bed, a carved wooden crucifix. Near the bed a case containing his Orders; in a corner a stand for his swords; close to the door a rack from which hang embroidered ribbons and streamers formerly attached to wreaths. A moderator lamp on a small mahogany table beside the bed. On the wall to the left of the bed, two water-colours, Queen Louise, waxen under her lace cap, covered with roses, and her lying in State. Otherwise nothing but pictures of Prussian and Russian uniforms. The yellow room adjoining is his dressing-room, but William does not dress here, nor has he any bath in it—he borrows one from the Hôtel de Rome when he wants one. The low door opens into the library, where he lunches, off a dinner-service shoved on to the shelf of a bookcase. Next to this the study, with the corner window on to the Linden. Standing out in the room the Emperor's writing-table, with all sorts of pictures, photographs, etc. In one frame, three miniatures by Begas—the Empress and her son and daughter as children. Two more portraits of Augusta and her medallion by the sculptor Joseph Kopf. Above the writing-table the bust of his father hung with a laurel wreath; and other family pictures, shelves with maps, portfolios, etc. Books of reference, dictionaries, army lists, State year-books, lists of Orders, law-books, drill-books. The General Staff report on the Franco-German War. The aides-de-camp room, the reception-room with the colours of the Berlin garrison, the room where the Emperor receives reports. A winding staircase from the library to the Empress's fine apartments and the reception-rooms, one of which is called the Malachite room, as it contains presents from the Tsar. In order to spare William the fatigue of coming upstairs, Augusta has fitted up a room on the ground-

floor, to the right of the entrance, formerly occupied by the Chamberlain, as a tea-room.

Waldersee describes an evening party of January 1886: "The company assembles in the little room with one window on the ground-floor, to the left of the staircase; the Empress is wheeled in and established in her chair at a small round table; she then gives the signal for the guests to be seated; a chair on her left is reserved for the Emperor. After a time, the Emperor arrives, generally straight from the theatre, his overcoat thrown open, greets everyone very pleasantly and sits down. Tea is served, then oranges and a glass of wine and lastly ices. The company consists generally of men, but I have met Princess Fritz Hohenzollern and Princess William there, and when the Grand Duchess of Baden is present, the Duchesse de Sagan and the Hereditary Princess of Fürstenberg were amongst those invited. None of the suite ever come. The invitations are for eight-thirty, and the company are expected to leave before ten. At these teas it is easier to judge that the Empress is a shrewd, sensible woman than on more ceremonious occasions. Her energy is all the more striking when one sees her suffering condition close at hand, the weak voice and trembling hands, so that she only drinks her tea with great difficulty, altogether such infirmity that one cannot understand how she can still appear in public. As the Emperor is rather hard of hearing, he often has great trouble in making out what his wife is saying. The old gentleman is always the same—kindly, cheerful, taking part in all the conversation, and delightfully informal."

He has a valet, by name Engel, who looks after him entirely, and who combs a lock of hair across from the parting towards his right ear when doing his hair in the morning. William calls that his "Chinese pigtail". Engel knows how far from luxurious the Emperor's habits are: "No, he won't go to the theatre in his good evening trousers, our old master never does such a thing." William gums up the old envelopes again that have come by post, and rewrites the address (as on the occasion of his first letter to the Chancellor), wipes his pens carefully, and is of a generally frugal disposition. Various instances are on record of this, such as his having retired into the bushes on one occasion, when out with his Staff during the siege of Paris, to eat some

chocolate he had kept in his pocket since Sedan, and explained on reappearing that there had not been enough of it to share. He is very considerate to everyone, does not even find fault when a thick shower of soot comes down the chimney of his study and covers everything with smuts, including himself and his coffee service. He is never disagreeable to his servants, an emphatic "Hm" is the strongest expression he uses. He is very correct in his dress; his coat is only thrown open showing a white waistcoat indoors, he buttons it up when he hears the band coming at the hour of changing the guard, and puts on the Order *pour le mérite* as prescribed. He only walked about on one occasion in his shirt-sleeves; that was when it was very hot at Wiesbaden.

Nor does he indulge in any comfort when travelling. He uses an old rattling saloon carriage, and drives from Lend to Gastein in the Austrian diligence, an old carriage without rubber tyres, until the doctors succeed in getting one sent with him from the Royal Mews, but not his own horses. His writing is like himself, clear, without alterations; it was only towards the end that his old-fashioned officer's German became confused. He never gave in to his failing health, and was often over-conscientious in what he considered his duty. "Once or twice", Louis Schneider relates, "I saw him come out of the Palace at seven o'clock in the morning on a raw, wet winter's day, when it was so dark that the street lamps were still alight, and stand on the muddy pavement until the troops had gone by." "There is some advantage in being ill", he says, when he is confined to bed and reads through a good many documents. His appearance on such occasions, in the dark and airless alcove, is sometimes alarming. He often speaks of his "obituary notice".

He is meticulous with regard to ceremonial, and also with regard to Court and military etiquette. This is shown by his marginal notes on arrangements for his coronation at Königsberg. He remarks that the Regalia must be firmly fastened to the cushions to avoid any risk of their falling off, as "the bearers are mostly old men". He is practical, disliking anything in the nature of high-flown language. At the age of seventy-five he says: "I don't know what people mean by talking about the 'aged hero'! Do I give the impression of being aged? I did not think

I did! It is to be hoped that I don't look it when I am on duty. But it has become a catchword like 'War for freedom' or the 'Hohenzollern eagle'. The Hohenzollerns have no eagle in their coat of arms. Brandenburg eagle or Prussian eagle would be correct." When his picture was painted for the nation in Charlemagne's Imperial robes, he said: "I look just like a priest of Baal!"

This want of imagination is altogether characteristic of him. It is shown by the criticism he passes on pictures; for instance: "Prince Frederick Charles is the outstanding figure in the picture, which does not seem quite what is due to the Crown Prince." What he really prefers are battle pictures, which had a certain popularity in the 'eighties. "I have never seen anything like it", he says admiringly of a panorama of Sedan. He does not appreciate allegory. He laughs at a Sphinx on the steps of the Leipzig War Memorial, intended to represent the riddle of the world: "Well then, it will probably be a riddle to everyone, and had better not be there." With regard to female figures, representing Baden, Würtemberg, and Bavaria: "Now do you know Baden? My son-in-law's is such a rich country; why have you clothed the Baden lady so scantily here? She has not even got stockings on!" He winks. Werner: "As a rule these ladies do not wear stockings, Your Majesty!"

William was gallant towards the opposite sex even up to the age of ninety. He told Schneider that on one occasion he had a meeting with a German actress in St. Petersburg. He was leaving the Winter Palace and, on arriving in his ante-room, was informed by Lobanoff that a lady wanted to speak to him, and given to understand that she was behind a screen, to which Lobanoff pointed. As he could not possibly receive a lady, and he assumed that she wanted patronage for her performance, he stood near the screen and told Lobanoff that he had suggested to the Tsar that a good German actress should be invited to come to St. Petersburg, the German performances being so bad, and said that he hoped she would give satisfaction. This told the lady what she wanted to know, and spared him the embarrassment of an interview. At the same time he had personal acquaintances on the stage.

The Crown Princess Victoria

The torch-dancing by Ministers that had been customary at the Prussian Court was kept up at the Imperial Court. Speaking of Princess Charlotte's wedding, Werner says: "To see the Ministers, the corpulent Camphausen, the witty Count Fritz Eulenburg, the worthy Dr. Falk, who was quite out of place in Court Society, and the jovial War Minister, von Kameke, who had difficulty in keeping his countenance even on the most important occasions, all coming in two and two, each carrying a thick wax candle and doing his best to assume a solemn expression, was a most remarkable sight! The procession, preceded by pages, went round so often in slow and solemn time to the march written by Prince Albrecht, junior, for the occasion, that at last one could not help sympathizing with the Ministers, on whose faces signs of weariness became more and more perceptible. Prince Bismarck was not amongst them, and when I expressed my regret, later on, at having been deprived of the pleasure of admiring him in the exercise of this Ministerial function, he replied that he had taken part in the torch-dance as recently as at Prince Albrecht's wedding, but that he was now too old to dance before these Princelings." Amongst those holding high office at the Court are Count William Redern, Prince Salm, Prince Putbus, Prince Pless, and Prince Hatzfeld. Count Pückler is Lord Chamberlain and Master of the Horse, now almost blind, and Count Augustus Eulenburg, Master of the Ceremonies. The aides-de-camp are Count Lehndorff, Prince Henry XVIII of Reuss, and Prince Anton Radziwill, "who was treated as a relation by His Majesty, a distinguished old gentleman with perfect manners".

In a book written about that time in French, *La Société de Berlin*, under the assumed name of Count Paul Vasili, the author speaks of the old Emperor's suite as "*Vieux chevaux de parade*". Lehndorff is described as "vain and egotistical, but harmless". Prince Reuss much the same. Albedyll incurred the dislike of all the younger officers, because he stood in the way of their advancement. Radziwill was married to a Frenchwoman, a great-niece of Talleyrand. Amongst other members of Berlin society of that day were the Duc de Sagan, "a type of the eighteenth-century nobleman", and his wife, the widow of Count Max Hatzfeld and daughter of Marshal Castellane. German noblemen of the

first rank were the Duke of Ratibor and his brother-in-law, the Duke of Ujest, Count Otto Stolberg-Wernigerode, the former Vice-Chancellor, who had retired from public life and rarely came to Berlin, Prince Hatzfeld-Trachenberg, an "ambitious man", and Prince Pless, a man of "enormous wealth", who gave sumptuous entertainments. The so-called Vasili also speaks of an artistic centre, the *salon* of Frau von Schleinitz, a Wagnerian and friend of Liszt and Cosima, the patroness of Bayreuth, and has a good deal to say about Count Philip Eulenburg's friend, Count Kuno Moltke, and his three notorious sisters, Countess Fritz Perponcher, Countess Dankelmann, and Frau von Prillwitz, the first a widow "still handsome, very rich, and very elegant", the second a Queen of fashion, much admired by the officers of the *Garde-du-Corps*, a "well-preserved statue", the third kept open house night after night: the guests came, according to Vasili, "to play, to smoke, to dance and flirt, as they pleased, but there are also comfortable arm-chairs there in which to spend the night".

In February 1866 a scandal leaks out, on which Waldersee notes: "It has gradually become known that Prince William has forbidden his officers to go to the house; it is said that he has included the Perponcher house in the prohibition, which is not true. The order will probably give rise to a first-class scandal, but it cannot be denied that there is a good deal to be said for Prince William in this matter also. The tone of Berlin society has become so bad, and its justly lowered reputation is to no small extent attributed to the *salons* and the example of the three sisters. . . . Shortly before this the Prince had tried to take similar steps against gambling in the Union Club, of which the Duke of Ratibor was Chairman, and the old Emperor a patron. He forbade officers of the Hussar Guards to join it. Ratibor wrote to ask him to withdraw the prohibition, maintaining that young officers never played there. The Prince, however, showed good reason for adhering to his order. . . ." Gambling was, nevertheless, carried on in secret.

Another notorious character in those days was Count Henckel von Donnersmarck, who occupied Prince Blücher's house in the Pariser Platz. This great landed proprietor and mining magnate

spent a good deal of time in Paris in the reign of Napoleon III, where he lived with the former mistress of the Duc de Gramont and Duc de Guiches, a German or Russian, who had first been married to a jobbing tailor, then to a Portuguese, the Marquis de Païva y Aranjo. He fitted up a sumptuous hotel in the Champs Élysées, decorated by the best artists of the day, for this lady, who was known as the Païva and whom he afterwards married. Taine, Gautier, and the Goncourt brothers were frequent guests at her dinners and soirées. During the first few weeks of the Franco-Prussian war Bismarck appoints Donnersmarck Prefect of Metz. In January 1871 he summons him to Versailles to take part in the negotiations over the war indemnity, and the Count suggests six milliard francs. In 1887, three years after the death of the Païva, Donnersmarck marries the divorced wife of the Russian Ambassador Muravieff, by whom he has two sons. Since 1886 he had been a member of the Prussian *Herrenhaus*, and had become a *grand seigneur* and a great, far-seeing industrialist of quite a new stamp, a broad-shouldered man of the world, with a long white beard. He is no courtier, and remains true to Bismarck even after the downfall of the latter.

Berlin society also included the Diplomatic Corps. England was represented by Sir Edward Malet, Lord Ampthill's successor; Austria-Hungary by Count Széchényi; Russia by Count Schuvaloff; France by Jules Herbette; and Italy by Count de Launay. Bleichröder, Bismarck's banker, who had not demanded a war indemnity of more than two milliard francs at the most from France, was given a title of nobility in 1872, as was also Adolf Hansemann. Until his eyes became weak he continued to attend at the bank where he and his partner, Schwabach, carried on their business together. After that he might be seen any morning walking in the Tiergarten with his servant, dark blue spectacles on his aquiline nose. On account of the relations between them, this great financier was regarded as the Chancellor's adviser in all diplomatic affairs.

A well-known episode of the 'seventies was the rise to power of Strousberg, the company promoter, the central figure in the scandal brought to light by Lasker in 1873, in which various members of the *haute noblesse* were involved. This man, who

made a very large fortune, was a friend of Lehndorff, Anton Radziwill, Count Perponcher, and Henkel von Donnersmarck. Through him Prince Putbus incurred a debt of almost five million marks, and had to retire to Naples for some years. The Prince had such great possessions, however, that the administrators of his estates were able to pay off the debt by degrees out of his income, and restore his property to him intact. In the days of his prosperity Strousberg lived in the house in the Wilhelmstrasse which afterwards became the English Embassy. He died in Berlin, poor and forgotten, in 1884. The capitalistic *bourgeoisie* of Berlin nevertheless gradually rises, contrary to Bismarck's policy and through it. Before the end of the out-of-date first Wilhelminian epoch in 1888, the second is already beginning.

IN 1879 THE CROWN PRINCE consults Professor George Lewin, who performs an operation for laryngeal polypus, and pointing to his own larynx, says: "I have the same trouble". On the 1st of January 1887 his voice still carries when he addresses the Emperor before the commanding officers. After that he suffers from chronic hoarseness; he supposes that he took cold in Rome, when he went for an evening drive with the King of Italy. In March he said to the President of the *Herrenhaus* that anyhow his hoarseness prevented his saying anything to the House. Waldersee notes: "The Crown Prince's hoarseness is increasing rather than diminishing, and yet there is still a tendency to take the matter lightly. I don't like it at all myself." On the 6th of March Professor Gerhardt examines the sick man with the laryngoscope. He discovers an elongated, flat, reddish lump on the glottis. Efforts to scrape away the swelling with the ring-knife fail, owing to its being so flat, smooth, and hard. Galvano-cautery is applied. The treatment has to be interrupted for a week, on account of the Emperor's birthday, on which occasion the Crown Prince has to represent him, and eighty-five Royalties put in an appearance. Again galvano-cautery; the growth disappears. "I hear nothing", Frederick William says to Hohenlohe (to whom he seldom says much), "I only know what is going on through the newspapers, and the Emperor is ninety years old!"

Since the conflicts of earlier days, little or nothing has changed either in Frederick William's married life or in his attitude towards his father and Bismarck. On the 20th of December 1887, when the dethroned Battenberg Prince has to write to the Crown Princess abandoning his pretensions to the hand of Princess Victoria, she is still the foreigner, the Englishwoman. The Memoirs of Prince Bismarck, whom she called "the wicked man", the "bad man", in writing to her mother, are not the only evidence against her. A normal Prussian, Katharine of Pommer-Esche, writes: "Bismarck did not hesitate to say on one occasion that she had German children, but by no means a German heart. Nor did she like him personally. There were different ways of thinking at the Palace, on account of the English views, but the

excellent, extraordinarily kind-hearted Crown Prince let his wife have her own way, for the sake of peace and quiet. She could be terribly violent if crossed, but was perfectly charming if everything went as she wished. She was a true Englishwoman in little things; for instance, she had a passion for draughts, so that one invariably got a cold in one's head, if not a worse chill, at the Palace. All the windows were thrown wide open in the coldest weather. The almost Siberian temperature annoyed the Empress Augusta, and she hardly ever went to the house. The Crown Princess took this amiss too, and she said very decidedly one day that she could not endure such hothouse air."

Cold was not the only thing to which Frederick had to submit. "She gives offence on every side", is Waldersee's opinion of her. And of her husband he says, in 1884: "The Crown Prince is naturally disappointed at having to wait so long for the throne. Ten and even fifteen years ago he already thought it unreasonable of Providence to allow his father to live to such a great age. His wife's intellectual superiority has become a great misfortune. She has made a simple, good, honest, and genuinely Prussian-minded Prince into a weak man, who has no self-reliance, who is no longer frank and honest. She has even shaken his firm faith. He listens to everyone and always agrees with the last speaker." In 1867 he was to have been Viceroy of Hanover, but he thought that too ambiguous a position. He acted as Vicegerent in 1878 "in accordance with my father's wish", and he complains to Charles of Rumania of the "burden". Apart from an occasional vain protest, he resigns himself to the domestic policy pursued. He visits foreign Courts as the Emperor's representative. In 1883 Professor Geffcken writes: "I found the Crown Prince more pessimistic and embittered than ever; he refused to consider his own reign and always see the situation clearly from that point of view, he said it was no good. He lamented his desultory life." But until his illness, he is impatient of being set aside.

In April 1887 he goes to Ems for inhalations. The growth reappears. When he returns to Potsdam on the 15th of May, Gerhardt pronounces it malignant. At his request the physician in ordinary, Dr. Wegner, calls in a surgeon, Professor von Bergmann. On the 18th of May consultation between six doctors,

amongst them the Emperor's doctor, von Lauer. They agree that it can only be a question of cancer, and that there must be an operation to the larynx. "Bergmann thinks", Waldersee says, "that at the best the result will be loss of voice, but he does not exclude the possibility of its being fatal." The sick man makes objections: an Emperor who cannot speak is inconceivable, and he has a skin that heals badly. Prince Bismarck intervenes. The doctors draw up a list of throat specialists, from which the Imperial family and the Chancellor are to choose. A French specialist and one in Vienna are struck out. The eminent English laryngologist, Morell Mackenzie, is left. He arrives at the Crown Prince's Palace on the 20th. The invalid speaks in "little more than a hoarse whisper". He is ready to be examined at once. Mackenzie tells his German colleagues afterwards that it is not cancer; he will first remove a bit of the tissue. What he takes out with the forceps is given to Professor Virchow, who finds pachydermia laryngis, not cancer. The German doctors tell Mackenzie that he has applied the forceps to the right, hitherto healthy vocal ligaments, instead of those on the left. He replies that it may be so, and speaks of his early departure. On the 8th of June he makes a fresh extraction. Again Professor Virchow finds no cancer in the parts extracted. The invalid and the Crown Princess are delighted. Mackenzie recommends the climate of the Isle of Wight. The Crown Prince is to go there, and Mackenzie even remarks that there will be no risk in his attending the Jubilee to celebrate the fiftieth year of the Queen's reign. But by the Emperor's command the patient is accompanied by Gerhardt's assistant, Dr. Landgraf.

On the 14th of June Frederick and Victoria are in England. They first reside at Upper Norwood, near London. Frederick rides in the Jubilee procession in the uniform of the Cuirassiers, preceding the Queen's carriage. He visits Mackenzie's hospital for diseases of the throat. Then he goes to Norris Castle, belonging to the Duke of Bedford, in the Isle of Wight, not far from Osborne. On the 9th of August he goes up to Braemar, in Scotland. His voice sounds almost natural, but it hurts him to swallow. On the 23rd of August Gerhardt examines him for the last time at Braemar; the disease has made further progress. But Mackenzie and his assistant, Hovell, issue a bulletin stating that the Crown

Prince is cured. The Queen confers a baronetcy on Mackenzie. The *Reichsanzeiger* publishes a report dated from Flushing, stating that the Crown Prince is not to use his voice, and must avoid cold damp air. These are the most important rules to be observed for the present. In order to escape the autumn weather the Crown Prince goes to Toblach, in South Tyrol, passing through Berlin without seeing the Emperor. On the 7th of September he arrives at Toblach with Hovell and Dr. Schrader. Rumours soon get abroad of permanent hoarseness, lassitude, a choking fit. Mackenzie is quoted. On the 28th of September the Prince leaves for Venice. He writes to his former mathematical tutor, Schellbach: "I am on the high road to recovery, but it can only be a very slow process, to which milder autumn air than our own will conduce, therefore the date of our return is still uncertain. My English specialist is confident that the real trouble has been overcome. It is now a question of sparing my voice and of building up my general health by avoiding chills, so that I may be able to take up my home duties again before the winter sets in." The illusion of a doomed man.

On the 7th of October Frederick moves to Baveno, on Lake Maggiore, where he occupies a villa belonging to an Englishman, by name Henfrey. On the 28th he loses his voice for good. On the 3rd of November the sick man goes to San Remo, where the Villa Zirio has been taken for him. There are swellings on both vocal ligaments. Mackenzie arrives on the 6th. He is obliged to give the Prince an inkling of the truth. "Is it cancer?" asks Frederick. Mackenzie: "I regret to say, Your Royal Highness, that it looks very like it, but it is impossible to be sure." In the book he wrote defending himself, Mackenzie says: "The Crown Prince received the communication with perfect calmness. After a moment of silence, he grasped my hand and said, with that smile of peculiar sweetness which so well expressed the mingled gentleness and strength of his character, 'I have lately been fearing something of this sort. I thank you, Sir Morell, for being so frank with me.' He showed not the least sign of depression, but spent the day in his ordinary occupations; and at dinner-time that evening he was cheerful without apparent effort, and chatted freely in his usual manner."

Professor Schrötter, of Vienna, and his pupil, Dr. Krause, of Berlin, are summoned by telegram to San Remo. Schrötter pronounces it a case of œdema, caused by inflammation of the perichondrium and the further development of carcinoma. He says the choice is between tracheotomy and cutting out the larynx; the Crown Princess is to decide. She is against any radical operation. On the evening of the 9th Prince William arrives; with him, on behalf of the Emperor, Dr. Schmitt, of Frankfurt a.M., who confirms Dr. Schrötter's report. Frederick says to his valet: "You see, what they want is to open my larynx and make an incision on each side. At the best I should then be only half a man, and I don't wish that. I would rather leave things in the hands of God." He refuses to have the larynx cut out, but agrees to tracheotomy being performed later on. On his return Prince William informs Waldersee that his mother had not allowed him to speak to his father or the doctors: "She treated me like a dog."

The Emperor now suspects that there is no further hope for his son. On the 27th of November he says to the President of the Reichstag: "You can imagine what a terrible grief it is to me at my age that a man whose physical and mental attributes seemed the surest guarantee for the future of the Empire should be suffering from a disease which keeps him hanging between life and death, so that, humanly speaking, it would be a miracle if he were completely restored to health." On the 6th of December he writes to his sister: "Seeing the world-wide sympathy that is shown for Fritz, ought not Providence to be merciful?" To Kögel: "The sad messages we continue to receive hit me and the country very hard. How much I had hoped from my son, from his sincerity of character, his ripe experience, his kindliness! And now! It will not be long before I learn in heaven why what seems so inexplicable was ordained for us." Bismarck, who has to reckon with the impending régime of the grandson, has proposed to the Emperor that the Prince should be given more insight into State affairs. William does not wish this, for the mere fact of the grandson signing the current Civil and Military Cabinet decrees for his grandfather has irritated the Crown Prince very much, "as though people in Berlin were already thinking of replacing him". The Prince is henceforth to be allowed or obliged

to attend at the Foreign Office and the Ministry of Finance, or alternatively the Ministry for Home Affairs. "This continuance of the present arrangement is less likely to irritate my son, although you will remember that he was also strongly opposed to this procedure."

It is thus that the Emperor and King William enters on the last three months of his darkened life.

THE EMPEROR'S DEATH

WILL THE WORLD WAR break out in this year of our Lord 1888? At the Berlin Court the Stöcker-Waldersee clique attaches itself to Prince William, whom Bismarck still watches over like a governor. From San Remo the Crown Prince objects to the Prince being associated with Stöcker's mission. Waldersee notes: "I am not the only one who thinks that the Chancellor is not what he was"; and he prides himself on the united front he and Bronsart, Albedyll, and Caprivi present to the despot. Bismarck gives the Prince a hint in writing "to have nothing to do with his bad advisers, and to stand above party, like Frederick the Great". Waldersee goes on to say in his diary (Marie is his wife): "I spoke to Albedyll for the first time about the matter of the mission. He knew nothing of it, for he had intentionally, as he told me, avoided taking any part in it. He informed me, however, that the Emperor had mentioned it to him for the first time yesterday morning, and in doing so had referred to me and Marie, but did not find any fault with us, he assured me. It is true that the Emperor said of Marie that she might be rather excitable in religious matters, but otherwise he spoke with great appreciation of her and her activities. . . ." He goes on to question whether some third party may not have intervened to counteract Albedyll's influence with the Emperor. The Prince, however, is promoted to the rank of General on the 27th of January, his birthday, though not without misgiving. Prince Bismarck suffers from insomnia.

The exhausted Emperor telegraphs to Alexandrina: "All our thoughts are at San Remo, where all is going on well. If only one could venture to hope!!!" An attempted Russo-Montenegrin rising in Bulgaria fails. Bill brought forward in the Reichstag to prolong the Socialist Law until the 30th of September 1893. It is referred to a Committee. The Reichstag fixes the existence of Parliament for five instead of three years, a reactionary correlative to universal franchise. Bismarck gives publicity to the Austro-German Treaty of Alliance of 1879. Russia's preparations for war continue. On the 6th of February, in the course of the debate on the first reading of the Army Bill, Bismarck makes his

great speech on a defensive war, in an atmosphere of tense excitement: "When that time comes, the whole of Germany, from the Memel to the Lake of Constance, will flare up like a powder-mine and bristle with rifles, and no enemy will venture to try conclusions with this *Furor Teutonicus*." Bulgaria, "the little country between the Danube and the Balkans", was not an object of such far-reaching importance as to be worth a European war. "If Russia officially requests us to support the steps taken with the Sultan as suzerain to restore the conditions in Bulgaria agreed upon at the Berlin Congress, I should not hesitate to advise His Majesty in that sense." But Germany must not be threatened. "We Germans fear God, but nothing else in the world." The Army Bill is passed. Portentous "Twilight of the Gods" over Valhalla.

On the night of the 8th of February Frederick staggers into his valet's room and moans: "I cannot bear it any longer; put a cold compress on my throat!" The next day he himself wishes for tracheotomy to be performed; he is afraid of choking. On the morning of the 9th the operation is performed by Bergmann's chief assistant, Dr. Bramann, before Bergmann arrives. A silver tube is inserted in the windpipe. Bergmann then takes the case in hand; Kussmaul of Strasburg states definitely that the cancer is in the larynx, not in the lungs. The Socialist Law is prolonged. Telegram from William to his sister: "Fritz was out of bed for three hours yesterday and five to-day; appetite good, but takes very little food. Everything therefore normal; God grant that it may remain so." On the 22nd of February: "All our thoughts are turned to San Remo, where things have been going on as well as could be hoped up to now, but complications may arise any day which might be fatal. I am better on the whole, but I miss the fresh air, and still go out in a brougham. This is the coldest day we have had all the winter; sunshine and east wind." On the 23rd William's grandson, Prince Ludwig of Baden, dies at Freiburg of inflammation of the lungs. This is a great blow to the Emperor. "Every word you say finds an echo in my heart", he replies to the clergyman who visits him, "for I loved him as a son!! May God give the parents strength and resignation!!"

On the 1st of March a report from San Remo states that the

Crown Prince has had a very good night, and is to be allowed to sit out on the balcony for a time, as it is fine." Prince William has gone on to San Remo from Carlsruhe, where he attended his cousin's funeral; Herbert Bismarck to England to confer with Lord Salisbury. The Russian rouble is falling rapidly. In spite of the cold, William goes for a walk in the Tiergarten in the afternoon. After that the Imperial Chancellor comes to see him. Their Majesties have a small tea-party in the evening. Princess William is amongst those invited. On the 2nd, after receiving the monthly regimental reports, the Emperor works with Bronsart and Albedyll. It transpires that, in case of his temporary illness, he has empowered Prince William to sign State documents in his name, in accordance with his principles of government, which are well known to the Prince. Whilst at San Remo the Prince is to inform his parents that the Emperor wishes the Crown Prince to return to Berlin or Potsdam as soon as possible. With reference to the authority to sign documents, the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* says that there is no question of the Prince acting as the Emperor's representative in matters of government. The Crown Prince has the "best day" he has had since the operation.

Waldersee's diary: "Prince William is now at San Remo; there will be a good deal of friction between him and the Crown Princess. She seems no longer accountable for her actions, she maintains so fanatically that her husband is not seriously ill. The Crown Princess has just concocted a perfectly mad scheme, in obliging her husband to ask the Emperor to send Prince William to Rome from San Remo. The main object of this is to show the world that the Crown Prince is not ill enough to cause anxiety. In order to keep up this comedy, Prince William is to be forced, coming from a funeral and his father's death-bed, to pay a visit to Rome, to allow himself to be fêted there, etc.; to say nothing of its being to Rome, where difficulties arise in the case of every visitor, owing to King and Pope, and of course particularly in the case of a future German Emperor. The Emperor ascertained at once that it would be out of the question, but to be on the safe side he sent for Bismarck and then refused."

On the 3rd Albedyll is with the Emperor. "Their Majesties are in excellent health." Professor Bergmann had intended leaving

San Remo. Professor Waldmeyer arrives from Berlin. On the 4th of March he examines microscopic slides and the patient's sputum. He finds traces of blood and necrotic particles, and in the slides flattened epithelium cells of a cancerous nature. Mackenzie now pledges himself in writing "to urge His Imperial and Royal Highness's immediate return to Germany in the event of his illness taking a serious turn", and says that he would have advocated it in any case directly the weather became warmer. A family dinner is given at the Palace in Berlin. On the 5th the old Emperor works with Wilmovski. On the same day people hear that "the Emperor is suffering from a slight chill, which will probably oblige him to remain in his room for a few days". Prince William leaves San Remo.

On the 6th the Emperor is still laid up. Mackenzie, Schrader, Krause, Hovell, Bergmann and Bramann draw up a bulletin at San Remo: "The undersigned declare that there are no differences of opinion among them regarding the nature of the disease. Just as little have they maintained that the malady is likely soon to take a dangerous turn. The sole responsible treatment is now, as it was before the operation, in the hands of Sir Morell Mackenzie." Waldmeyer's opinion is suppressed. As the tube irritates the larynx, the Crown Prince coughs a good deal. He spends a few hours sitting in the garden of the villa.

On the 7th the *Reichsanzeiger* announces that His Majesty the Emperor and King has had abdominal trouble during the last few days in addition to the general symptoms of cold, and the affection of the mucous membrane of the throat and eye inflammation from which he had been suffering since Saturday the 3rd inst. Since the previous day his appetite had diminished and consequently he was visibly weaker. Morning newspaper telegrams respecting the Crown Prince are not encouraging. The bulletins issued by the Emperor's doctors state that he is suffering from bladder trouble. Prince William arrives from the Anhalt station and is not allowed to see his grandfather, who is asleep. He sends for Waldersee. "When I arrived at the Palace great consternation prevailed; the Emperor was very weak, and in the opinion of the doctors will not recover this time. The Prince appeared at seven o'clock, took me into another room where we had a long

conversation, and he also told me a good deal about San Remo; he was very excited and agitated. What is going on in his mind, I wonder!" The Chancellor arrives at eleven o'clock the next morning, also Moltke and Bronsart. The Emperor takes some liquid food in the afternoon. Bismarck remains till three o'clock. Bötticher announces in the Reichstag that the Emperor's condition is critical. Crowds assemble in Unter den Linden.

On the night of the 8th the old man is restless. He has sometimes sat up in the last few nights and sobbed: "My son, my poor Fritz!" Now he is half unconscious. Towards morning his mind becomes clear. His hearing is very sharp. He continues to lose strength. The members of the Royal Family are assembled in the Palace, Prince and Princess William, the Grand Duke and Duchess of Baden with their daughter, the Crown Princess of Sweden, and their son-in-law, the Cabinet Ministers with Bismarck, Moltke, the aides-de-camp, high Court officials, etc. The Empress, who is wheeled in her chair to his bedside, gives the Emperor her hand in silence. At two o'clock Bismarck has a last opportunity of talking to the dying man. The *Reichsanzeiger* states that the Emperor had asked for the Chancellor and discussed the political situation with him, and "had spoken words of appreciation and thanks to Prince Bismarck". Is he already delirious? He mistakes Bismarck for Prince William: "You must treat the Emperor of Russia with great consideration; that will be all to our advantage." But he puts his hand on the Chancellor's shoulder and says: "You have done that very well."

In his book *Gedanken und Erinnerungen* Bismarck says the Emperor told him that he expected him to remain at his post and stand by his successors, which seemed to indicate that he feared his not being able to get on with the Emperor Frederick. He (Bismarck) had spoken reassuringly as to that, in so far as he could fittingly speak to a dying man of what his successors and he himself would do after his death. "Then, thinking of his son's illness, he asked me to promise that his grandson should have the benefit of my experience, and that I would stand by him should he soon come to the throne, as seemed likely. I expressed my readiness to serve his successors with the same zeal as himself." The only answer the Emperor made was to press his hand. After

a moment's silence, the Emperor said: "I can still see you." What he whispered to his grandson showed that he was wandering. "The Emperor began by speaking to Prince William of the army and the Prussian people. In the course of his remarks he touched on our alliances, then on possible wars with neighbouring nations, and alluded to their individual military organizations, which had occupied his mind latterly." Reischach, who was present, thinks he took the Prince for the Crown Prince, and gives the following version of his admonitions: "If war breaks out unwarrantably, then you are bound by your treaties, will adhere to them, and march. But cultivate the Russian friendship!" A few minutes later he is back in the days of his youth, in the battle of Bar-sur-Aube, with a battery. At five o'clock the bells of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedral ring. The Court preacher Kögel is with the Emperor. His pulse hardly beats. An aide-de-camp is sent to fetch Bismarck from a Cabinet meeting. The Chancellor and Bötticher drive together to the Palace. At ten o'clock: "The condition of the Emperor and King is more hopeful."

Waldersee gives the following account of this 8th of March, a Thursday, reporting the remarks about the war as having been made in the evening: "The Emperor lay on his narrow camp-bed in his small, dimly lighted bedroom, his face being consequently turned towards us and the window. Drs. Leuthold and Timann were at the head of the bed, where a crucifix hung on the wall, two valets beside it, and near the foot of it Dr. Lauer. The Emperor had on a white jacket and a red silk handkerchief round his neck; his head was inclined rather forwards and sideways. The Empress had been wheeled close up to the bed, so that her left hand rested on it and could hold the Emperor's left hand, she was therefore looking straight at him. In front of her stood the Grand Duchess, who acted as intermediary in the conversation (the Empress's voice is so weak that she could not make herself understood), then rather on one side Prince William and his wife. We were allowed to come quite close, so that I stood near the bed; the Chancellor and the Field-Marshal appeared, the small room had quite filled up. We came in feeling that we were seeing the Emperor pass away. Nothing was to be heard

The Emperor's Funeral

but weeping, interrupted by short prayers from Kögel, who stood on the left near the foot of the bed, and the Emperor's groans or the rattling in his throat, which was not continuous, but occurred at intervals. The Emperor kept his eyes shut; now and again the shade of a lamp was lifted, so that one could see his face clearly; it was not materially changed, the monarch was probably not suffering very much. By degrees he seemed to recover strength, what he said became rather more distinct, and one could see his hands moving. After one of Kögel's prayers he said, 'That is beautiful'; then, 'That is right'; and another time, 'Amen'. When he was given wine, he said in answer to an inquiry, 'It has no taste at all'. After perhaps an hour it was evident to us all that death was not yet at hand. The Emperor seemed to be regaining consciousness; he remarked that there were a good many people round his bed. With reference to Kögel's prayers he said he supposed it was a devotional hour." He even drew his hand from under the quilt and stroked his moustache, which on ordinary occasions showed that he felt well and in a good humour.

Waldersee's report: "He is believed to have then said something to the effect that we could go, and the room emptied silently. At seven o'clock the pulse was better; the Emperor immediately asked for a glass of champagne and had a little soup after that. People began to hope again. It is true that Dr. Leuthold said there could be no question of recovery. After a time the Emperor talked more, also more distinctly and almost exclusively about the political situation and war; amongst other things he said with regard to that: 'If I should have to go to war, I am not afraid of it'. There was a great deal about the French army and its organization; then about his treaty obligations and the Emperor Alexander, with regard to whom he said something to the effect that he hoped he would not break his word. When the Grand Duchess said to him: 'You have told us so much that was interesting, perhaps you would like to rest a little now', he replied: 'I have not time for that now', and went on talking at once. Very gradually the voice grew less distinct, the thoughts more confused, and the breathing shorter. At about ten o'clock the Empress withdrew and then the family as well; I remained in

the aides-de-camp room with the gentlemen in immediate attendance. Again and again I went to the half-open door; from time to time a doctor or one of the valets came out. For perhaps an hour there was some peace, then the restlessness began again and particularly the talking; this went on with little intermission until towards three o'clock in the morning, but became more and more unintelligible. It is remarkable, however, that during the whole time one thought was uppermost: war against France and our alliance with Russia. At first it referred more to the present, then gradually to the war of liberation, and there it rested. The Emperor mentioned the names of many officers of those days who had been associated with him."

On the 8th of March dialogue at San Remo. A telegram from Bismarck urges the Crown Prince's immediate return, as his father's condition is critical. Frederick sends for Mackenzie: "Would it be dangerous for me to return to Berlin at once?" Mackenzie: "Yes, Your Imperial Highness, it would certainly be rather dangerous." Frederick: "There are occasions when it is a man's duty to expose himself to some risk, and I am now confronted with such an occasion. I shall go back the day after to-morrow. I rely on you to make all the medical arrangements necessary to reduce the risk of my journey to the north to the minimum."

Friday, the 8th of March. At one o'clock in the morning Leuthold says that the Emperor will probably live through the day. At four o'clock Bismarck and Moltke arrive at the Palace; they leave at six. Towards seven o'clock a bulletin states that after a slight rally the previous evening, the weakness of the day before had returned and was now rapidly increasing. Before the clock strikes half-past eight the Emperor draws his last breath. Final bulletin: "The Emperor William passed away quietly and painlessly at twenty minutes past eight o'clock this morning." In the presence of the family: "their Imperial and Royal Highnesses". The lamp on the right illuminates his forehead, the dreary morning light streams into the room. On the little tables small decanters and wine-glasses, still almost full. Near the bed a wine-cooler and several pairs of boots. Generals, standing alone or in groups. Non-commissioned cavalry and infantry

officers relieve one another on guard at the door of the room. The servants are also allowed to come in. A dispatch-rider trots off to the Wilhelmstrasse. The south side of the Linden is shut off. The flags are lowered to half-mast. Salvos of artillery. "The Chancellor is the last to leave the Palace."

The Reichstag session does not begin till a quarter-past twelve. Prince Bismarck's carriage now drives up. The Prince takes his place at the Federal Council table, bows to the House and carries out his "melancholy duty". In conclusion he says: "Gentlemen, may the heroic courage, the intense national feeling, and above all the patriotism, the loyal and scrupulous fulfilment of duty to the Fatherland, of which our lamented Sovereign was the personification, be the imperishable heritage bequeathed to the nation by the Emperor who has now passed away from our midst." And in paying this tribute to the "first German Emperor", he speaks of the "sufferings of his only son, his successor, our present reigning Sovereign"; he welcomes Frederick III. He telegraphs as follows to Münster, the Ambassador in Paris: "*L'empereur et roi notre éminent souverain s'est éteint doucement ce matin a huit et demie par suite d'épuisement.*" Carnot and Flourens, the Prince of Wales and Gladstone condole. Crispi speaks in the Italian Chamber.

On the morning of the 10th of March Frederick III, who intends to call himself so as King of Prussia, and Frederick IV as German Emperor, leaves San Remo with the Empress Victoria. On Sunday morning he arrives at Munich; the Queen-Mother of Bavaria is on the platform. He reaches Leipzig in the evening; the Imperial Chancellor, Herbert Bismarck, the members of the Cabinet and other Ministers are there to receive him. Standing up in the saloon Frederick kisses the late Emperor's adviser three times; the Prince bends over the Emperor's hand. The latter wants to speak but cannot; he makes notes in pencil. "Count August Eulenburg kissed his Imperial master's hand on bended knee." Arrival at Charlottenburg in a snowstorm at eleven o'clock at night. Drive to the Castle, *Gardes-du-Corps* at the entrance, with eagles, cuirasses, and drawn swords. Frederick would like to move to Wiesbaden as soon as possible, but Bismarck does not allow this. The telegram to his son, who received him at

Charlottenburg, was as follows: "In deep grief over the death of my father, at which it was your privilege, but not mine, to be present, I express my firm confidence, on ascending the throne, that in sorrow and obedience you will set an example to all." Such is the House of Hohenzollern after the death of the old Emperor.

In the course of Monday night the body is conveyed to the Cathedral: religious service, the Crown Prince William, the Generals and aides-de-camp in the room where the flags of the Berlin garrison are hung. The lead coffin is enclosed in another covered with a crimson and gold velvet pall. The funeral procession starts after midnight. Augusta follows in the wheeled chair as far as the staircase. On the landing a black pall is placed over the coffin, which is carried by twelve non-commissioned officers. *Gardes-du-Corps* in black cuirasses, the Body Guard, servants of the Household, gentlemen-in-waiting, the coffin, the Generals, at a distance of twenty feet the young Crown Prince and the Royalties. Soldiers with torches, snowstorms, tolling of bells. The coffin is placed on a catafalque in the Cathedral, which is draped with black. Kögel pronounces the blessing. The catafalque rests on purple velvet bordered with ermine and gold. Werner says: "He lay in his coffin in the uniform of his 1st Guards Regiment; at the head stood a General with the Prussian flag between two aides-de-camp and two officers commanding Body Regiments. Two officers of the Royal Household were placed at the head and two gentlemen-in-waiting at the foot of the coffin. On each side of it were cushions on which lay the Prussian Regalia, on one the Royal Crown, Seal, Orb, and Electoral Hat, on the other the Sceptre, the Prussian Sword, the chain of the Order of the Black Eagle, and the Electoral Sword. Beside each cushion the commanding officer of a Guards or Body Regiment stood motionless with drawn sword for twenty minutes, until released, almost noiselessly and imperceptibly, by others. The coffin was surrounded by six candlesticks hung with crape, of such an ugly shape that the effect was very poor; perhaps they had only been hastily improvised. Visitors to the number of about seven thousand per hour passed slowly in single file over a raised bridge straight across the Cathedral from the Lustgarten

side. Both the Lustgarten and Schlossplatz were surrounded by troops, and only those holding special cards of admission to the Cathedral could pass through the military cordon. The crowd was immense and the cold bitter."

On Monday Moltke pays his respects to the new Emperor at Charlottenburg; he finds him wretched and with no voice at all, but able to get about. Frederick issues the manifesto "To my people": "The Emperor passed away from his glorious life." But this manifesto, written by Stosch, Roggenbach, Stockmar, and Geffcken, has been lying ready since 1885. Frederick bestows the Order of the Black Eagle on the Empress Victoria and the National Liberal Minister Friedberg. On Wednesday the Cabinet again pronounces against Wiesbaden as a residence for the Emperor.

On Friday the 16th the funeral of Bismarck's King takes place in the afternoon. It is the coldest day of the whole winter. Twelve Colonels raise the coffin from the platform in the Cathedral. They are followed by gentlemen-in-waiting, officers of the Imperial Household, Staff officers, and twelve Army Captains. "The crimson-velvet covered coffin, on which lay the insignia of the Order of the Black Eagle and the Field-Marshal's bâton, was placed on a car drawn by eight horses under a canopy borne by officers. The Emperor's charger was led behind the coffin, followed by General von Pape with the Prussian flag between the Emperor's aides-de-camp, Prince Anton Radziwill and Count Lehndorff, and these by the Ministers bearing the Regalia. The Crown Prince William took part as chief mourner. After him came the Kings of Saxony, Belgium, and Rumania, the other reigning Princes present, and innumerable high officials and dignitaries. The funeral procession moved slowly towards the Brandenburg Gate, preceded and followed by Regiments of Guards, to the sound of muffled drums, the strains of the Beethoven and Chopin funeral marches and tolling of bells, and disappeared between the still bare trees Unter den Linden into the wintry fog." Bismarck is absent, Moltke is absent. "The procession was shorn of its brilliance", says Chlodwig von Hohenlohe, "as all were wearing greatcoats and cloaks." On reaching the *Siegesallee* the guests take their places in State

carriages, the *Garde-du-Corps* Regiment is the only one that accompanies the procession to its destination, the mausoleum at Charlottenburg where William's parents are buried.

The Emperor Frederick is visited by the Kings and other reigning Princes on Thursday. He had insisted on attending the funeral. The six horses harnessed to a State carriage were unharnessed. "It required all the firmness I could command", says Mackenzie, the "charlatan", the "swindler", as he was called by the Berlin people and a set at Court, "to induce him to give way. The funeral took place on the 16th, and His Majesty was more depressed than I had ever seen him. His countenance expressed the deepest sorrow; he was restless and agitated, and twice he pointed to a window looking towards Berlin, saying: 'I ought to be there!' "

On the 17th of March Frederick attends the service in the chapel of the Charlottenburg Palace, and receives the Diplomatic Corps. The weather is raw, with frequent falls of snow. Mackenzie's report: "The Emperor generally rose soon after eight, after breakfasting in bed, and was dressed by half-past nine. He then went down to the Orangery, where the Empress accompanied him, whilst I remained near at hand. About ten o'clock His Majesty returned to his study, where he gave audiences to his Ministers or other officials till noon. Soon afterwards he used to go again to the Orangery, where he remained for an hour or so, sitting in the central pavilion or walking up and down the long corridor. Here also the Emperor often received visitors and officials. Though the Orangery was better than nothing, it was a very depressing place after the bright sunshine and balmy air of San Remo; the building had not originally been constructed as an Orangery, and the glasswork occupied only one side. The orange-trees were old, thick-stemmed, and covered with leaves, so that the interior was very gloomy. After lunch, the Emperor generally saw some members of his family, after which he rested for an hour or two. Before, or after taking his rest, His Majesty often received Prince Bismarck or the Crown Prince. After his siesta, the Emperor generally attended to State business, signed papers, and wrote his diary. He dined at eight, and went to bed between half-past nine and ten." At the end of the month he

drives through the Tiergarten to his father's Palace, and spends an hour in the silent room where the latter died, and with the widowed Empress.

On the 24th Victoria holds the mourning-court at the Castle in Berlin. She behaves as though she were Regent. Instead of walking slowly up the steps in ascending the throne, she flounces up with an air of command. Before the Court Hohenlohe calls on Bismarck, who pities the new Emperor. If all that is said is true, a Crown lawyer must be sent to protect Frederick against the Empress. Afterwards Hohenlohe pays a visit to Charlottenburg: "I was taken up to a room on the first floor, looking on to the grounds, and from there to the Emperor's writing-room. The Emperor was there with the Empress. I did not think he looked so very ill, only thin and rather sallow, and his eyes rather prominent. But when one looks at him more closely, one notices the suffering expression of the eyes. The Empress excused her presence on the ground that it was necessary to help the Emperor in conversation. The first subject discussed was the Emperor's death and the universal sorrow and sympathy in all countries. I then spoke of the innumerable remedies that he had been recommended, and the Empress said they had received any number of letters, and particularly quantities of Lourdes water, 'so much that we could have bathed in it'. She had given it all to the convents and monasteries. When the Empress remarked that I looked well, I replied that I owed that to work, which was good for one's health; and that I thought all the work the Emperor did was good for him, to which he nodded agreement. The Empress only complained that the Emperor could not go out, on which I remarked that the rooms were very lofty and pleasant. Also the weather would soon be warmer. When the Emperor got up and went over to the fireplace to cough, the Empress said: 'You think him looking pretty well, don't you?' I could answer that in the affirmative. Visitors were then announced, and when I said good-bye and expressed my sincere good wishes, the Emperor put his hand on my shoulder and smiled so sadly that I could hardly keep back my tears. He gave me the impression of a martyr. I probably saw him yesterday for the last time."

The new monarch takes over his predecessor's *maison militaire*.

Count Radolin becomes Lord Chamberlain, Princess Hatzfeld Mistress of the Robes, and Count Seckendorff the Empress's Chamberlain. The contest between Bismarck and Victoria over the Battenberg Prince begins again directly. On Bismarck's birthday the Crown Prince William makes an impassioned speech in which he speaks of the "deeply injured" Emperor and the "great Chancellor", the same whom he will regard later on, in the deceptive glory of the centenary, as merely the "assistant" of William the "Great". And Victoria is furious because the late lamented Emperor has remembered the Crown Prince, the Crown Princess and Prince Henry in his will, but not her daughters.

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